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Historical Documents.

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[COLLECTANEA ADAMANTÆA.—XIII.]

A

COLLECTION

OF

Historical Documents

Illustrative of the Reigns of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns.

EDITED,

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

EDMUND GOLDSMID, F.R.H.S.,
F.S.A. (Scot.)

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A Collection of Historical Documents

Illustrative of the Reigns of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns.

Henry, Earl of Richmond (Henry VII.) His Proclamation to his Army, on the Eve of the Battle of Bosworth Field.[1] 1485.

If ever God gave victory to men fighting in a just quarrel, or if He ever aided such as made war for the wealth and tuition[2] of their own natural and nutritive country, or if He ever succoured them which adventured

[1] Hall's Union, fol. Lond. 1548.
[2] Welfare.

their lives for the relief of innocents, suppressing of malefactors and apparent offenders—no doubt, my fellows and friends, but He of his bountiful goodness will this day send us triumphant victory and a lucky journey over our proud enemy and arrogant adversary. For, if you remember and consider the very cause of our just quarrel, you shall apparently[1] perceive the same to be true, godly, and virtuous. In the which I doubt not but God will rather aid us; yea, (and fight for us) than see us vanquished and profligated,[2] by such as neither fear Him nor His laws, nor yet regard justice or honesty. Our cause is so just, that no enterprise can be of more virtue both by the laws Divine and Civil; for, what can be a more honest, goodly, or godly quarrel, than to fight against a captain being an homicide and murderer of his own blood and progeny?[3] —an extreme destroyer of his nobility, and to his and our country and the poor subjects of the same, a deadly mall,[4] a fiery brand, and a burden untolerable? Besides him, consider who be of his band and company, —such as by murder and untruth committed against their own kin and lineage,—yea, against their Prince and Sovereign Lord, have dishearted me and you, and wrongfully detain and usurp our lawful patrimony and lineal inheritance. For he that calleth himself

[1] Evidently.
[2] Put to flight.
[3] Alluding to the reported murders of Clarence, Edward IV., and the Princes.
[4] From the Latin, malleus, a "hammer" i.e. a destroyer.

king, keepeth from me the crown and regiment[1] of this noble realm and country, contrary to all justice and equity. Likewise, his mates and friends occupy your lands, cut down your woods, and destroy your manors, letting your wives and children range abroad for their living: which persons, for their penance and punishment, I doubt not but God, of His goodness, will either deliver into our hands as a great gain and booty, or cause them, being grieved and compuncted with the prick of their corrupt consciences, cowardly to fly and not abide the battle. Besides this, I assure you that there be yonder in that great battle men brought thither for fear and not for love, soldiers by force compelled and not with good-will assembled,—persons, which desire rather the destruction than the salvation of their master and captain; and finally, a multitude, whereof the most part will be our friends and the least part our enemies. For truly I doubt which is the greater, the malice of the soldiers toward their captain, or the fear of him conceived by his people. For surely this rule is infallible that, as ill men daily covet, to destroy the good, so God appointeth the good to confound the ill; and of all wordly goods the greatest is, to suppress tyrants and relieve innocence, whereof the one is ever as much hated as the other is loved. If this be true, (as clerks preach) who will spare yonder tyrant, Richard, Duke of Gloucester,

[1] Government.

untruly calling himself king, considering that he hath violated and broken both the law of God and man? What virtue is in him which was the confusion of his brother and the murtherer of his nephews? What mercy is in him which fleeth his trusty friends as well as extreme enemies? Who can have confidence in him which putteth diffidence[1] in all men? If you have not read, I have heard clerks say, that Tarquin the proud for the vice of the body lost the Kingdom of Rome, and the name of Tarquin was banished the city for ever. Yet was not his fault so detestable, as the fact of cruel Nero, which slew his own mother. Behold yonder Richard, which is both Tarquin and Nero! Yea, a tyrant more than Nero, for he hath not only murthered his nephew, being his king and sovereign lord, bastarded his noble brethren, and defamed his virtuous and womanly mother,[2] but also compassed all the means and ways that he could invent how to stuprate his own niece under the pretence of a cloaked matrimony:[3] which lady I have sworn and promised to take to my mate and wife, as you all know and believe.

If this cause be not just, and this quarrel godly, let God, the Giver of Victory, judge and determine. We

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[1] Distrust.

[2] This is an allusion to Dr. Shaw's celebrated sermon at Paul's Cross.

[3] This refers to the reported intention of Richard to marry the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.

have (thanks be given to Christ!) escaped the secret treasons in Brittany, and avoided the subtle snares of our fraudulent enemies there, passed the troublous seas in good and quiet safeguard, and without resistance have penetrated the ample region and large country of Wales, and are now come to the place which we so much desired. For long we have sought the furious boar,[1] and now we have found him. Wherefore, let us not fear to enter into the toil, where we may surely slay him; for God knoweth that we have lived in the vales of misery, tossing our ships in dangerous storms. Let us not now dread to set up our sails in fair weather, having with us both it and good fortune. If we had come to conquer Wales, and had achieved it, our praise had been great and our gain more; but, if we win this battle, the whole rich realm of England, with the lords and rulers of the same, shall be ours, and the honour shall be ours.

Therefore, labour for your gain, and sweat for your right. While we were in Burgundy, we had small livings and little plenty of wealth or welfare. Now is the time come to get abundance of riches and copie[2] of profit, which is the reward of your service and merit of your pain. And this remember with yourselves, that before us be our enemies, and on either side of us be such, as I neither surely trust nor greatly

[1] Richard's badge was a boar.
[2] Plenty, from the Latin "copia."

believe.[1] Backward we cannot flee ; so that here we stand, like sheep in a fold, circumsepted and compassed between our enemies and doubtful friends. Therefore, let all fear be set aside, and like sworn brethren, let us join in one ; for this day shall be the end of our travail and the gain of our labour, either by honourable death or famous victory ; and, as I trust the battle shall not be so sour as the profit shall be sweet. Remember the victory is not gotten with the multitude of men, but with the courages of hearts and valiantness of minds. The smaller that our number is, the more glory is to us, if we vanquish. If we be overcome, yet no laud is to be attributed to the victors, considering that ten men fought against one ; and, if we die, so glorious a death in so good a quarrel, neither fretting tyne[2] nor cancarding[3] oblivion shall be able to obfuscate[4] or raze out of the book of fame either our names or our godly attempt.

And this one thing I assure you, that in so just and good a cause and so notable a quarrel, you shall find me this day rather a dead carrion on the cold ground, than a free prisoner on a carpet in a lady's chamber. Let us, therefore, fight like invincible giants, and set on our enemies, like untimorous tigers, and banish all

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[1] Alluding to Lord Stanley and the Earl of Northumberland who did not declare for him till after the fight had begun.
[2] Pain or sorrow.
[3] Cankering.
[4] To dim.

fear, like ramping lions. And now advance forward, true men against traitors, pitiful[1] persons against murtherers, true inheritors against usurpers, the scourges of God against tyrants. Display my banner with a good courage; march forth like strong and robustious champions, and begin the battle like hardy conquerors. The battle is at hand, and the victory approacheth, and, if we shamefully recule[2] or cowardly flee, we and all our sequel[3] be destroyed and dishonoured for ever.

This is the day of gain, and this is the time of loss; get this day victory, and be conquerors; and lose this day's battle, and be villains;[4] and, therefore, in the name of God and Saint George, let every man courageously advance forth his standard.

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[1] Merciful.
[2] Retreat, from the French "reculer."
[3] Posterity.
[4] Slaves.

Henry VII. to the Mayor and Citizens of Waterford, concerning Perkin Warbeck.[1] 1497.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you, and have received your writing, bearing date the first day of this instant month; whereby we conceive that Perkin Warbeck came unto the Haven of Cork the 25th day of July last passed, and that he intendeth to make sail thence towards our county of Cornwall: for the which your certificate in this part, and for the true minds that you have always borne towards us, and now especially for the speedy sending of your said writing which we received the 5th day of this said month, in the morning, we give unto you our right hearty thanks, as we have singular cause so to do; praying you of your good perseverance in the same, and also to send unto us by your writing such news from time to time as shall be occurrent in those parts; whereby you shall minister unto us full good pleasure to your semblable[2] thanks hereafter, and cause us not

[1] Lambeth Palace MSS., 632, f. 251. This letter refers to Perkin Warbeck's second approach to Cork. The next is an important document, giving an official account of the capture of this impostor, certified by the king himself. There are perhaps few more extraordinary incidents in history to be pointed out than is afforded by the brief career of Perkin Warbeck, so remarkably illustrated by the present letters.

[2] Like.

to forget your said good minds unto us in any your reasonable desires for time to come.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Woodstock, the 6th day of August.

Over this we pray you to put you in effectual diligence for the taking of the said Perkin, and him so taken to send unto us; wherein you shall not only singularly please us, but shall have also for the same, in money counted, the sum of a thousand marks sterling for your reward; whereunto you may verily trust, for so we assure you by this our present letter, and therefore we think it behoveful that you set forth ships to the sea for the taking of Perkin aforesaid. For they that take him, or bring or send him surely unto us, shall have undoubtedly the said reward.

HENRICUS REX.

To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor and his brethren of our city of Waterford.

From the Same to the Same.[1]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and, whereas Perkin Warbeck, lately accompanied by divers and many our rebels of Cornwall, advanced

[1] Lambeth Palace MSS., 632, f. 251.

themselves to our city of Exeter, which was denied unto them, and so they came to the town of Taunton. At which town, as soon as they had knowledge that our chamberlain, our steward of household, Sir John Chynie,[1] and other our loving subjects with them, were coming so far forth towards the said Perkin, as to our monastery of Glastonbury: the same Perkin took with him John Heron, Edward Skelton, and Nicholas Ashley, and stole away from his said company about midnight, and fled with all the haste they could make. We had well provided beforehand for the sea-coasts, that, if he had attempted that way, (as he thought indeed to have done) he should have been put from his purpose, as it is coming to pass. For, when they perceived they might not get to the sea, and that they were had in a quick chase and pursuit, they were compelled to address themselves unto our monastery of Beaulieu; to the which, of chance and of fortune, it happened some of our menial servants to repair, and some we sent thither purposely. The said Perkin, Heron, Skelton, and Ashley, seeing our said servants there, and remembring that all the country was warned to make watch and give attendance, that they should not avoid nor escape by sea,

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[1] Sir John Chenie, or Cheney, was at the battle of Bosworth Field, an officer remarkable for his strength and prowess; he was unhorsed by Richard himself in that battle.---Halliwell's "Letters of the Kings of England," vol. i., p. 175.

made instances unto our said servants to sue unto us for them, the said Perkin desiring to be sure of his life, and he would come unto us, and show what he is ; and, over that, do unto us such service as should content us. And so, by agreement between our said servants and them, they encouraged[1] them to depart from Beaulieu, and to put themselves in our grace and pity. The abbot and convent hearing thereof demanded of them why and for what cause they would depart. Whereunto they gave answer in the presence of the said abbot and convent, and of many other, that, without any manner of constraint, they would come unto us of their free wills, in trust of our grace and pardon aforesaid. And so, the said Perkin came unto us to the town of Taunton, from whence he fled ; and immediately after his first coming, humbly submitting himself unto us, hath of his free will openly showed, in the presence of all the council here with us, and of other nobles, his name to be *Piers Osbeck*, whereas he hath been named Perkin Warbeck, and to be none Englishman born, but born at Tournay, and son to John Osbeck, and sometime while he lived comptroller of the said Tournay ; with many other circumstances too long to write, declaring by whose means he took upon him this presumption and folly.

And so, now this great abusion, which hath long

[1] This word is inserted, there being an "hiatus" in the original MS.

continued, is now openly known by his own confession. We write this news unto you, for we be undoubtedly sure, that calling to mind the great abusion that divers folks have been in, by reason of the said Perkin, and the great business and charges that we and our realm have been put unto in that behalf, you would be glad to hear the certainty of the same, which we affirm unto you for assured truth.

Sithence the writing of these premises, we be ascertained that Perkin's wife is in good surety for us, and trust that she shall shortly come unto us to this our city of Exeter, as she is in dole. Over this, we understand by writing from the Right Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of Duresme,[1] that a trux[2] is taken betwixt us and Scotland; and that it concluded that the King of Scots shall send unto us a great and solemn ambassady for a league and peace to be had during both our lives. And sithence[3] our coming to this our city of Exeter for the punition[4] of this great rebellion, and for so to order the parts of Cornwall, as the people may live in their due obeisance[5] to us and in good restfulness unto themselves for time to come: the commons of this shire of Devon come daily before us in great multitudes in their shirts, the

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[1] Durham.
[2] Truce.
[3] Since.
[4] Punishment.
[5] Obedience.

foremost of them having halters about their necks, and full humbly with lamentable cries for our grace and remission, submit themselves unto us; whereupon, doing, first, the chief stirrers and misdoers to be tried out of them, for to abide their corrections according, we grant to the residue our said grace and pardon. And our commissioners, the Earl of Devon, our chamberlain, and our steward of household, have done and do daily in likewise in our county of Cornwall.

Yeven[1] under our signet at our said city of Exeter, the 17th day of October.

To our trusty and well-beloved, the Mayor and his brethren of our city of Waterford.

HENRY VIII. to JAMES IV. of Scotland. 1513.[2]

12th August 1513.

Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince,

We have received your writing, dated at Edinburgh the twenty-sixth[3] day of July, by your herald

[1] The old form of the word "given."

[2] MS. Harl., 787, art. 54. Other copies of this letter are preserved in MS. Harl., 2252, art. 38, and MS. Cotton. Calig. B. vi. art. 21.

[3] Some copies say the 16th.

Lyon the bearer, wherein after rehearsal and accumulation of many surmises, injuries, griefs, and damages done by us and our subjects to you and your lieges, the specialities whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembering that to them and every of them, in effect, reasonable answer, founded upon law and conscience, hath heretofore been made to you and your council,—[1]

You not only require us to desist from farther invasion and utter destruction of your brother and cousin the French king, but also certify us that you will take part in defence of the said king; and do that thing which you trust may rather cause us to desist from farther pursuit of him; with many contrived occasions and communications, by you causeless sought and imagined, sounding to the breach of the perpetual peace passed, concluded, and sworn betwixt you and us; of which your imagined quarrels, causeless devised to break to us, (contrary to your oath promised, all honour, and kindness), we cannot marvel, considering the ancient accustomable manners of your progenitors, which never kept faith and promise longer than pleased them.

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[1] This violent and passionate letter was in answer to one from James to Henry, in which he complained of the murder of Barton, of the detention of Scottish ships and artillery, of the protection given to the bastard Heron, and of the refusal to pay the legacy left by Henry VII. to his daughter the Scottish queen; requiring the retreat of the English army out of France, and stating that he had granted letters of marque to his subjects, and would take part with Louis, his friend and ally. Lingard, vol. vi., p. 20.

Howbeit, if the love and dread of God, nighness of blood, honour of the world, law and reason, had bound you, we suppose you would never have so far proceeded, specially in our absence; wherein the Pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonourable demeanour, when you, lying in await, seek the ways to do that in our absence which you would not have been well advised to attempt, we being within our realm and present. And for the evident approbation hereof, we need none other proof nor witness, but your own writings heretofore to us sent, we being within our realm; wherein you never made mention of taking part with our enemy the French king, but passed your time with us till after our departure from our said realm. And now, percase,[1] you supposing us, so far from our said realm, to be destitute of defence against your invasions, have uttered the old rancour of your mind, which in covert manner you have long kept secret.

Nevertheless, we remembering the brittleness of your promise, and suspecting, though not wholly believing, so much unsteadfastness, thought it right expedient and necessary to put our said realm in a readiness for resisting of your said enterprises, having firm trust in our Lord God and the righteousness of our cause, and,[2]

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[1] Perchance.

[2] This word is inserted from the copy contained in the Cottonian MS.

with the assistance of our confederates and allies, we shall be able to resist the malice of all schismatics and their adherents, being by the general council expressly excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time convenient to remember our friends and requite you and our enemies, which by such unnatural demeanour have given sufficient cause to the disherison[1] of you and your posterity for ever from the possibility that you think to have to our realm, which you now attempt to invade.

And, if the example of the king of Navarre being excluded from his realm for assistance given to the French king, cannot restrain you from this unnatural dealing, we suppose you shall have like assistance of the said French king, as the king of Navarre hath now, who is a king without a realm; and so the French king peaceably suffereth him to continue: whereunto good regard should be taken.

And, like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make any further answer to your manifold grieves[2] by you surmised in your letter. Forasmuch as, if any law or reason could have removed you from your sensual opinions, you have been many and oftentimes sufficiently answered to the same, except only to the pretended grieves touching the denying of our safe-conduct to your

[1] Disinheriting.
[2] Grievances.

ambassador to be last sent unto us: whereunto we make this answer,—that we had granted the said safe-conduct, and if your herald would have taken the same with him, like as he hath been accustomed to solicit safe-conducts for merchants and others heretofore, you might as soon have had that as the other; for we never denied safe-conduct to any your lieges to come unto us, and no further to pass. But we see well, like as your herald had heretofore made sinister report contrary to truth; so hath he done in this case, as is manifest and open.

Finally, as touching your requisition to desist from further attempting against our enemy the French king, we know you for no competent judge of so high authority to require us in that behalf. Wherefore, God willing, we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederates and allies to prosecute the same; and, as you do to us and to our realm, so it shall be remembered and acquitted hereafter, by the help of our Lord and patron Saint George, who, right excellent. right high, and mighty prince, &c.

Given under our signet in our camp before Tyrwin,[1] the 12th day of August, in the fifth year of our reign.

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[1] Terouenne.

HENRY VIII. to the Estates of Scotland.[1]

1521.

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, to our well-beloved, all and every, the lords spiritual and temporal, likewise the commons and three estates of the kingdom of Scotland, to whom these presents shall come, health and greeting in God everlasting.

Inasmuch as we, drawn by natural affection and love, as well as on account of proximity of blood which is between us and our very dear brother and nephew, the young king of your kingdom, your sovereign lord, as of his minority and nonage, have heretofore been very content to live in repose, tranquillity, and peace with the said kingdom, the nobles and subjects thereof; making to that end, from time to time, many treaties of truce and abstinence from war, under conditions which, before this, have not been observed; and, inasmuch as, by many irruptions, robberies, murders, burnings, and other outrages, we have been provoked and inclined to the contrary, being determined to continue in like mind during the minority of our said nephew: nevertheless, having just heard, to our great regret and displeasure, that the Duke of Albany, pretending himself heir-apparent

[1] MSS. Harl. 1224. Art. 25. Translated from the French.

and next successor to the crown of Scotland, is not only arrived there, usurping as governor, with money, ordinance, artillery, and other preparations of war, for the purpose of hostility; but also, taking into his hands the custody of the said young king our nephew (as we are informed by those who are worthy of credit) has committed the custody and governance of him to a foreigner of low reputation; contriving and damnably purposing the divorce of the queen our sister from her spouse and lawful husband, and proposing to contract marriage with her; whereby not only the person of the said king our nephew is, in appearance, in great danger of being destroyed, but also our sister on the eve of ruin, to our great dishonour and displeasure.

We therefore, providing against, wishing and purposing to remove, take away, and cut off the said dangers and inconveniences have long since made instant and earnest request to our brother and cousin the French king, to detain and keep the said duke in France, and not to suffer him, in any wise, to return or resort to Scotland; the which thing the French king, like a virtuous prince, at our instance has expressly promised and granted by letters signed with his own hand, and confirmed by oath made upon the Holy Evangelists. Wherefore, we are induced to think and really to presume that the said duke, in order to accomplish his damnable purposes in covert manner, has come out of France without the cogniz-

ance, assurance, or even the knowledge of the said French king, taking it for granted that, noble prince as he is, with whom we must have so good and perfect intelligence, he would not violate his oath by permitting the said duke with his knowledge to return into Scotland.

And, inasmuch as the said duke has, but a little while ago, importuned us by his secretary for a longer protraction of the truce between us and the kingdom of Scotland; nevertheless, we, considering and manifestly perceiving the imminent dangers, which, by the establishing of the said duke in repose and tranquility, would indubitably ensue to the said kingdom and the said king our nephew, he by virtue thereof designing to abuse the nobles and aspire to the crown of Scotland, have expressly refused to condescend to any peace or abstinence from war at his request or instance, so long as he shall remain there; whereas we might have been hereunto very agreeable from the entire affection which we bear to our said nephew, if the said duke, being dismissed out of Scotland, the thing had been demanded by you and the three estates of the realm.

Wherefore, and inasmuch as by the sojourn and residence of the said duke in the country, the dangers and inconveniences above specified, to all appearance, will arrive and ensue; and as the king of France has affirmed to our ambassador resident at his court that his coming from thence is wholly against his will and intention, (seeing that it is contrary to his oath and

promise) and likewise, as thereby the peace and tranquility of your kingdom will be troubled, we earnestly require, desire, and pray you to look so substantially as well to the safety of your natural king and prince as of your honours, property, and repose, that you neither aid, favour, nor assist the said duke in his evil purposes and damnable enterprises, nor even suffer him to tarry in that your country; assuring you that, by so doing, we will not only live with you in amity, tranquility, and repose, but also assist and aid you with our person, power, and substance against him, his adherents, and these who shall be willing to side with him, and all others who shall undertake any mischief against our said nephew and his kindom. And, in letting him abide in your country, you will peril your prince, and dishonour your queen our sister, and provoke us with all our confederates and allies to do you all the harm and damage that we can, (for which we should be sorry) if by your countenance of the said duke you should force us thereto.

Given under our privy seal at our abode of Greenwich, the 15th day of January, the year of our Lord, 1521, and of our reign the thirteenth.

Signed as underneath.

HENRY.[1]

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[1] The following note, in Latin, is appended to this letter.--"This is a true copy of the original letter of the aforesaid most excellent Prince Henry King of England, and subscribed by the hand and affirmed by the private seal of the same; it was trans-

Henry VIII. to Queen Margaret.[1]

1523.

Right excellent and noble princess, our dearest sister, we commend us unto you in our most hearty and affectionate manner; advertising you, that we have as well received your letters credential addressed unto us by Sir John Campbell, knight, as your other letters sent unto us from Edinburgh, by our servant Barwick; and have at good length heard the credence, which you referred to the declaration of our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor the Duke of Norfolk. For answer whereunto, dearest sister, you shall understand, that like as we would be right sorry to see, that our good brother and nephew, your son, should not use you in all things as beseemeth a natural and kind son to use his mother; so you may certainly persuade yourself that, in case we should certainly perceive the contrary, whereby it should appear you should be treated otherwise than your honour

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lated from the English into the French tongue, in all respect according with the original, being faithfully collated by me, Alexander Scott, notary-public and scribe of the council; so testified under my seal and subscription manual." The original letter in English does not appear to be extant; but if the chances of antiquarian research should bring it to light, the reader can then compare it with a modern English version of a French translation made three centuries ago.---Halliwell's "Letters of the Kings of England, vol. i., p. 271.

[1] MSS. in the State Paper Office.

and the treaty of your marriage doth require, there shall, on our behalf, want no loving and kind office, which we shall think may tend to your relief, comfort, and satisfaction. But, dearest sister, because by the report and credence of the said Sir John Campbell, whom you recommended unto us as your special friend, it appeared to us, that you be there very well handled, and be grown to much wealth, quiet, and riches; and, on the other side, by the credence committed to our said servant Barwick, it appeared otherwise: having the same declared unto us the mere contrary, we perceive their tales be so contrary and repugnant, one to another, that we may well remain doubtful which of them we may believe. And perceiving also, by sundry other advertisements heretofore received from you, concerning your trouble and evil handling there, both by our nephew, your son, and by the Lord Muffyn, that either your state often varyeth, or else things have not been well understood and declared; for that we have after found them variable, and you of other disposition than hath been of your behalf pretended unto us: having occasion at this time to send this bearer unto those parts for other our affairs and business, we thought meet, by these our letters to desire and pray you, not only to signify unto us more plainly the points wherein you note yourself evil handled, but also whether you desire that we should directly and particularly entreat such your griefs with our good brother and nephew your son,

as you will specially signify unto us, or else generally recommend your state, condition, and good entertainment unto him. For, as we would be very loth, either to propose the matter unto him for you, as yourself should not after justify, or otherwise to entreat it, than might most redound to your repose, commodity, and quiet; so, knowing certainly your mind herein, with the particularities of griefs, such as you will avow and justify, we shall not fail to devise in such wise for the redress of the same, as both your honour and ours shall appertain; likewise, this bearer can further declare unto you, to whom we require you, dearest sister, to give credence.

LOVE-LETTERS OF HENRY VIII.

1528-9.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell prefaces these letters with the following observations:—

"The letters of Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, perhaps the most remarkable documents of the kind known to exist, were published at Oxford in 1720 by Hearne, in a volume entitled *Roberti de Avesbury Historia de mirabilibus gestis Edvardi III.*, and inserted

in the third volume of the Harleian Miscellany, 1745. These two editors differ considerably from each other, and still more so from the transcripts here given, which are taken from the edition printed at Paris. Either from hurry or carelessness, the English editors have not furnished faithful copies of the original autographs preserved in the Vatican library at Rome, where they are objects of particular curiosity to foreigners, and especially to English visitors.

"When the successes of the French in Italy, under Buonoparte, in 1796 and 7, compelled the pope to sue for peace, among other trophies demanded by the republican general were five hundred manuscripts to be selected by French commissioners. The letters of Henry VIII. formed part of this booty. How they had found their way into the papal archives we are not informed; but they were transferred at that period to the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris, where they remained till the stipulations of the general peace in 1815 obliged France to disgorge the treasures of art and literature of which she had plundered almost every nation in Europe.

"While in Paris, these letters were copied with the most scrupulous accuracy by M. Meon, who held a situation in the Manuscript department of the Bibliothèque du Roi, and to this copy we are indebted for a more faithful transcript than has hitherto appeared in this country. The fifth and thirteenth, however, which are not comprehended in the Vatican

collection, are supplied from Hearne's work. Of the seventeen letters of which the series consists, eight are written in English and nine in French.

"Miss Strickland relates that these letters were stolen from Anne Boleyn in the close of the year 1528, and conveyed to Rome by the intrigues probably of Wolsey, though great suspicion fell on the legate Cardinal Campeggio. When this legate was recalled by the pope, and about to embark, his trunks and other effects were strictly searched by the officers of the customs, upon pretext of examining whether he was carrying money or letters out of England to Rome, but in reality, as we are told by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in hopes of finding a decretal bull issued by the pope annulling the king's marriage with Katharine, but retracted by the pontiff, and recovering Henry's love-letters to Anne Boleyn. But the search was vain; for those letters had been already sent to Rome, having been stolen from the king's closet, says the writer just quoted: but it seems much more probable that they were taken from the apartments of the lady to whom they were addressed.

"They appear to have been written after Anne Boleyn had been sent away from court, in consequence of reports injurious to her reputation which had begun to be publicly circulated. Her removal indeed was so abrupt that she had resolved never to return. The king soon repented his harshness, and strove to persuade her to come back; but it was a long time, and

not without great trouble, that he could induce her to comply. Her retirement did not take place before the month of May, 1528; this is proved by a letter of Fox, bishop of Hereford, to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, dated the 4th of May, in that year, in which the writer, who had just returned from Rome, whither he had been sent to negociate the king's divorce, gives an account of his landing at Sandwich, on the 2nd, of his arrival on the same night at Greenwich, where the king then was, and of the order he received from him to go to the apartments of Anne Boleyn, which were in the Tilt-yard, and inform her how anxious he had been to hasten the arrival of the legate, and how much he was rejoiced by it. This letter, formerly in the possession of Harley, earl of Oxford, is now at Rome.

"It must have been very soon afterwards that Anne Boleyn left the court. In fact, in the first letter of this series the king excuses himself for being under the necessity of parting from her. In the second he complains of the dislike which she shows to return to court: but in neither of them does he allude to the pestilential disease which in that year committed such ravages in England. In the third, however, he does advert to it as a disorder which has prevailed for some time, and on which he makes some observations.

"Between this letter, probably written in the month of July, and the sixth, in which the king speaks of the arrival of the legate in Paris, and which must have been written about the end of September, there are

two letters, certainly written within a few days of each other. In the second of these two, viz., the fifth of this series, the king expresses his extreme satisfaction which he has received from the lady's answer to his request. In the effusion of his gratitude, he pays a visit to his mistress, and both address a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, in which Henry manifests his astonishment at not having yet heard of the arrival of Campeggio, the legate, in Paris. The date of this letter may thus be fixed in the month of September.

"The fourth, apparently written in August, is the most interesting of the whole collection, inasmuch as it fixes the period of the commencement of the king's affection for Anne Boleyn. He complains of 'having been above a whole year struck with the dart of love,' and that he is not yet quite certain whether he shall find a place in the heart and affections of her whom he loves.

"The last letter, which makes mention of the illness of the legate as the cause of the delay in the affair of the divorce, shows that this correspondence ended in May, 1529, at which time the court of legates was opened for the final decision of that point.

"Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, subsequently created earl of Wiltshire, after passing many years at the court of Claude, queen of Francis I. of France, returned to England about the end of the year, 1525, at the age of eighteen. Here she was soon appointed maid of honour to Queen Katherine, and

attracted the particular attentions of Henry VIII., who was then engaged in soliciting a divorce from the pope. The marked preference shown by the king for Anne Boleyn raised so much jealousy and slander that it was thought advisable by her family to remove the new favourite from the court; and it was during this retirement at Hever, a seat of her father's in Kent, that these letters were addressed to her by her royal lover. It was no doubt to render them more agreeable that he wrote some of them in French. They breathe a fondness and an ardour which could scarcely leave room to doubt the sincerity of his love. The more painful are the reflections to which they give rise when we recollect that the man who with his own hand penned such fervent epistles, and for six years performed the part of the most impassioned lover, could doom the woman he had adored to the block, hurry her execution, and with joy await the signal of her death.

"Catholic writers of various nations have been most assiduous in their endeavours to brand the memory of this most unfortunate of queens. Many of their calumnies have been derived from a history of the Reformation, published at Cologne in 1628, written by Sanders, an English catholic, the various editions of which have undergone alterations and interpolations by various hands, according to the views, the opinions, and frequently according to the influence of the political party which guided the pen of the different

editors. Novelists themselves have not disdained to propagate these calumnies; and sometimes, by the grossness of their exaggerations, they have even invested them with an air of positive absurdity. Thus Madame de la Fayette, in her Princesse de Cleves, introduces the queen-dauphiness, Mary Stuart, relating the history of Anne Boleyn, and giving in a few pages an analysis of the statements of Sanders. She begins in this manner: 'Anne Boleyn was of a good English family. Henry VIII. had been enamoured of her sister and her mother, and it was even suspected that she was his daughter.' A recent French writer of the article in the Biographie Universelle has dared, probably on no better authority than such records as these to impute to 'the hypocritical ambition' and 'the profound immorality' of this first Protestant queen of England, the scaffolds, the gibbets, and the firebrands which stained the reigns of Henry and his two daughters with blood and ashes—a charge about as just as the remark of the brilliant but superficial Voltaire, that 'England separated herself from the pope because Henry VIII. fell in love.'

"French writers have not taken less liberty in the portraiture of the person than of the character of Anne Boleyn. A contemporary panegyrist has related that she had a double nail on one of her fingers, but that she had the skill to change this defect into a beauty. On this hint probably it was gravely asserted in the *Dictionnaire des Sciences Medicales* that Anne Boleyn had

six fingers on each hand. In the same work she is said to have been *multimame*, and in the same article is thrown out the conjecture that perhaps she had six toes on each foot. A few more superfluous endowments of this kind, and the woman who charmed the whole court of England may be made as hideous as you please. The reader will not be surprised to learn that the type of all these notable inventions, copied and successively augmented according to the taste of each writer, belongs to the veracious Sanders, who thus describes Anne Boleyn: 'She had six fingers on her right hand, a long, sallow face, and a wen on her neck.' In this manner, traditions, the one more absurd than the other, come to be perpetuated and admitted as authenticated facts even into the records of history."

Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn.[1]

My mistress and friend, my heart and I surrender ourselves into your hands, beseeching you to hold us

[1] This letter has been printed several times. Early copies of it are preserved in the British Museum, and another, with many variations, in Rawlinson's collection of MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

commended to your favour, and that by absence your affection to us may not be lessened : for it would be a great pity to increase our pain, of which absence produces enough and more than I could ever have thought could be felt, reminding us of a point in astronomy which is this : the longer the days are, the more distant is the sun, and nevertheless the hotter ; so is it with our love, for by absence we are kept a distance from one another, and yet it retains its fervour, at least on my side ; I hope the like on yours, assuring you that on my part the pain of absence is already too great for me ; and when I think of the increase of that which I am forced to suffer, it would be almost intolerable, but for the firm hope I have of your unchangeable affection for me : and to remind you of this sometimes, and seeing that I cannot be personally present with you, I now send you the nearest thing I can to that, namely, my picture set in bracelets, with the whole of the device,[1] which you already know, wishing myself in their place, if it should please you. This is from the hand of your loyal servant and friend,

H. R.

[1] Motto.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.[1]

To my mistress.

Because the time seems very long since I heard concerning your health and you, the great affection I have for you has induced me to send you this bearer, to be better informed of your health and pleasure, and because, since my parting from you, I have been told that the opinion in which I left you is totally changed, and that you would not come to court either with your mother, if you could, or in any other manner; which report, if true, I cannot sufficiently marvel at, because I am sure that I have since never done anything to offend you, and it seems a very poor return for the great love I bear you to keep me at a distance both from the speech and the person of the woman that I esteem most in the world; and if you love me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure that the distance of our two persons would be a little irksome to you, though this does not belong so much to the mistress as to the servant.

Consider well, my mistress, that absence from you grieves me sorely, hoping that it is not your will that it should be so; but if I knew for certain that you voluntarily desired it, I could do no other than mourn

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[1] Translated from the French original.

my ill-fortune, and by degrees abate my great folly. And so, for lack of time, I make an end of this rude letter, beseeching you to give credence to this bearer in all that he will tell you from me.

Written by the hand of your entire servant,

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

The uneasiness my doubts about your health gave me, disturbed and alarmed me exceedingly, and I should not have had any quiet without hearing certain tidings. But now, since you have as yet felt nothing, I hope, and am assured that it[1] will spare you, as I hope it is doing with us. For when we were at Walton, two ushers, two valets de chambre, and your brother,[2] [master treasurer] fell, but are now quite well; and since we have returned to your house at Hunsdon, we have been perfectly well, and have not, at present, one sick person, God be praised; and I think, if you would retire from Surrey, as we did, you would escape all

[1] That is, the sweating sickness.

[2] George Boleyn, created Viscount Rochford in the early period of his sister's favour. He was afterwards employed in several embassies, and at the time of his sister's marriage, the king appointed him governor of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports. Exalted by her fortune, he fell with her, and was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1536, on the charge of an incestuous connexion with the unhappy victim of the inconstant monarch.—"Halliwell's Letters of the Kings of England," vol i. p. 304.

danger. There is another thing that may comfort you, which is, that, in truth, in this distemper few or no women have been taken ill, and, what is more, no person of our court, and few elsewhere, have died of it. For which reason I beg you, my entirely beloved, not to frighten yourself nor be too uneasy at our absence; for, wherever I am, I am yours, and yet we must sometimes submit to our misfortunes, for whoever will struggle against fate is generally but so much the farther from gaining his end: wherefore comfort yourself, and take courage, and avoid the pestilence as much as you can, for I hope shortly to make you sing, *le renvoyé*. No more at present, for lack of time, but that I wish you in my arms, that I might a little dispel your unreasonable thoughts.

Written by the hand of him who is and always will be yours,

Im-H. R.-mutable.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.[1]

For a present so beautiful that nothing could be more so (considering the whole of it), I thank you

[1] The original of this letter is not in the Vatican collection it has therefore been translated from the copy given in Hearne's works.

most cordially, not only on account of the fine diamond and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about, but chiefly for the fine interpretation and the too humble submission which your goodness hath used towards me in this case; for I think it would be very difficult for me to find an occasion to deserve it, if I were not assisted by your great humanity and favour, which I have always sought to seek, and will seek to preserve by all the kindness in my power, in which my hope has placed its unchangeable intention, which says, *Aut illic, aut nullibi.*[1]

The demonstrations of your affection are such, the beautiful mottoes of the letter so cordially expressed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love, and serve you sincerely, beseeching you to continue in the same firm and constant purpose, assuring you that, on my part, I will surpass it rather than make it reciprocal, if loyalty of heart and a desire to please you can accomplish this.

I beg, also, if at any time before this I have in any way offended you, that you would give me the same absolution that you ask, assuring you that henceforward my heart shall be dedicated to you alone. I wish my person was so too. God can do it, if He pleases, to whom I pray every day for that end, hoping that at length my prayers will be heard. I wish the time

[1] Either there or no where.

may be short, but I shall think it long till we see one another.

Written by the hand of that secretary, who in heart, body, and will, is

Your loyal and most assured servant,

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

On turning over in my mind the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into great agony, not knowing how to interpret them, whether to my disadvantage, as I understand them in some others, beseeching you earnestly to let me know expressly your whole mind as to the love between us two. It is absolutely necessary for me to obtain this answer, having been for above a whole year stricken with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail or find a place in your heart and affection, which last point has prevented me for some time past from calling you my mistress ; because, if you only love me with an ordinary love, that name is not suitable for you, because it denotes a singular love, which is far from common. But if you please to do the office of a true loyal mistress and friend, and to give up yourself body and heart to me, who will be, and have been, your most loyal

servant, (if your rigour does not forbid me) I promise you that not only shall the name be given you, but also that I will take you for my only mistress, casting off all others besides you out of my thoughts and affections, and serve you only. I beseech you to give an entire answer to this my rude letter, that I may know on what and how far I may depend. And if it does not please you to answer me in writing, appoint some place where I may have it by word of mouth, and I will go thither with all my heart.

No more, for fear of tiring you.

Written by the hand of him who will willingly remain yours,

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

The reasonable request of your last letter, with the pleasure also that I take to know them true, causeth me to send you these news. The legate whom we most desired, arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past, so that I trust by the next Monday to hear of his arrival at Calais; and then I trust within awhile after to enjoy that which I have so long longed for, to God's pleasure, and both our comforts.

No more to you at this present, mine own darling, for lack of time, but that I would you were in mine arms, or I in yours, for I think it long since I kissed you.

Written after the killing of a hart, at eleven of the clock, minding,[1] with God's grace, to-morrow, mighty timely, to kill an other, by the hand, which, I trust, shortly shall be yours.

HENRY R.

HENRY VIII. to ANN BOLEYN.

Darling,

Though I have scant leisure, yet remembering my promise, I thought it convenient to certify you briefly in what case our affairs stand. As touching a lodging[2] for you, we have got one by my lord cardinal's means, the like or hire of which could not have been found hereabouts for all causes, as this bearer shall more show you. As touching our other affairs, I assure you there can be no more done, nor more diligence used, nor all manner of dangers both

[1] Purposing.

[2] Alluding to Suffolk House, which Wolsey had procured for this purpose. It was contiguous to York House, now Whitehall.

foreseen and provided for, so that I trust it shall be hereafter to both our comforts, the specialties whereof were both too long to be written, and hardly by messenger to be declared. Wherefore, till your repair hither, I keep something in store, trusting it shall not be long to; for I have caused my lord, your father, to make his provisions with speed; and thus, for lack of time, darling, I make an end of my letter, written with the hand of him which I would were yours.

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

Though it is not fitting for a gentleman to take his lady in the place of a servant, yet, complying with your desire, I willingly grant it you, if thereby you can find yourself less uncomfortable in the place chosen by yourself than you have been in that which I gave you, thanking you cordially that you are pleased still to have some remembrance of me.

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

The cause of my writing at this time, good sweetheart, is only to understand of your good health and prosperity; whereof to know I would be as glad as in mine own, praying God that (if it be his pleasure) to send us shortly together, for I promise you I long for it. How be it, I trust it shall not be long to; and seeing my darling is absent, I can do no less than to send her some flesh, representing my name, which is hart flesh[1] for Henry.

As touching your sister's matter,[2] I have caused Walter Welche[3] to write to my lord[4] my mind thereon, whereby I trust that Eve shall not have power to deceive Adam; for surely, whatsoever is said, it cannot so stand with his honour but that he must needs take her, his natural daughter, now in her extreme necessity.

No more to you at this time, mine own darling, but that with a wish I would we were together an evening.

With the hand of yours. H. R.

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[1] Venison.

[2] Her sister Mary, who had been left a portionless widow, with two infant children, and on whose behalf Anne had written to Henry a letter, to which this is the reply.

[3] Sir Walter Welche, one of the six gentlemen of his privy chamber. He was much trusted by the king.—CAVENDISH.

[4] Her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, had been created Earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.[1]

Although, my mistress, it has not pleased you to remember the promise you made me when I was last with you—that is, to hear good news from you, and to have an answer to my last letter; yet it seems to me that it belongs to a true servant (seeing that otherwise he can know nothing) to inquire the health of his mistress, and to acquit myself of the duty of a true servant, I send you this letter, beseeching you to apprise me of your welfare, which I pray to God may continue as long as I desire mine own. And to cause you yet oftener to remember me, I send you by the bearer of this a buck, killed late last night by my own hand, hoping that when you eat of it you may think of the hunter; and thus, for want of room, I must end my letter, written by the hand of your servant, who very often wishes for you instead of your brother.

H. R.

[1] This letter was probably written by Henry after he had been unwillingly compelled to bend to public opinion, by dismissing Anne Boleyn for a time from Greenwich to Hever Castle.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

The approach of the time for which I have so long waited rejoices me so much, that it seems almost to have come already. However, the entire accomplishment cannot be till the two persons meet, which meeting is more desired by me than anything in this world; for what joy can be greater upon earth than to have the company of her who is dearest to me, knowing likewise that she does the same to her part, the thought of which gives me the greatest pleasure.

Judge what an effect the presence of that person must have on me, whose absence has grieved my heart more than either words or writing can express, and which nothing can cure, but that begging you, my mistress, to tell your father from me, that I desire him to hasten the time appointed[1] by two days, that he may be at court before the old term, or, at farthest, on the day prefixed; for otherwise I shall think he will not do the lover's turn, as he said he would, nor answer my expectation.

No more at present for lack of time, hoping shortly that by word of mouth I shall tell you the rest of the sufferings endured by me from your absence.

Written by the hand of the secretary, who wishes himself at this moment privately with you, and who is, and always will be,

Your loyal and most assured servant,
H. no other (A B) seeks. R.

[1] For Anne's return to London.

Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn.

There came to me suddenly in the night the most afflicting news that could have arrived. On three accounts I must lament it. The first, to hear of the illness[1] of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, and whose health I desire as I do my own, so that I would gladly bear half your illness to make you well. The second, from the fear that I have of being still longer harassed by my enemy, Absence, much longer, who has hitherto given me all possible uneasiness, and as far as I can judge is determined to spite me more. The third, because I pray God to rid me of this troublesome tormentor, because my physician, in whom I have most confidence, is absent at the very time when he might do me the greatest pleasure; for I should hope, by him and his means, to obtain one of my chief joys on earth—that is the care of my mistress—yet for want of him I send you my second, and hope that he will soon make you well. I shall then love him more than ever. I beseech you to be guided by his advice in your illness. In so doing I hope soon to see you again, which will be to me a greater comfort than all the precious jewels in the world.

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[1] Anne had been taken seriously ill of the pestilence, but she was restored to health by the skill and advice of Dr. Butts, the physician alluded to in this letter.

Written by that secretary, who is, and for ever will be, your loyal and most assured servant,

H. no other (A B) seeks. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

Since your last letters, mine own darling, Walter Welsh, Master Brown, John Care, Brion of Brearton, and John Cork, the apothecary, be fallen of the sweat[1] in this house, and, thanked be God, all well recovered, so that as yet the plague is not fully ceased here, but I trust shortly it shall. By the mercy of God, the rest of us yet be well, and I trust shall pass it, either not to have it, or, at the least, as easily as the rest have done.

As touching the matter of Wilton, my lord cardinal hath had the nuns before him, and examined them, Bell being present; which hath certified me that, for a truth, she had confessed herself (which we would have had abbess) to have had two children by two sundry priests; and, further, since hath been kept by a servant of the Lord Broke that was, and that not long ago. Wherefore I would not, for all the gold in the world,

[1] The sweating sickness.

clog your conscience nor mine to make her ruler of a house which is of so ungodly demeanour; nor, I trust, you would not that neither for brother nor sister, I should so distain[1] mine honour or conscience. And, as touching the prioress, or Dame Eleanor's eldest sister, though there is not any evident case proved against them, and that the prioress is so old that for many years she could not be as she was named; yet notwithstanding, to do you pleasure, I have done that neither of them shall have it, but that some other good and well-disposed woman shall have it, whereby the house shall be better reformed (whereof I ensure you it had much need), and God much the better served.

As touching your abode at Hever, do therein as best shall like you, for you know best what air doth best with you; but I would it were come thereto (if it pleased God), that neither of us need care for that, for I ensure you I think it long. Suche is fallen sick of the sweat, and therefore I send you this bearer, because I think you long to hear tidings from us, as we do likewise from you.

Written with the hand *de votre seul*,

H. R.

[1] To stain.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

Darling, these shall be the only to advertise you that this bearer and his fellow be despatched with as many things to compass our matter, and to bring it to pass as our wits could imagine or devise; which brought to pass, as I trust, by their diligence, it shall be shortly, you and I shall have our desired end, which should be more to my heart's ease, and more quietness to my mind, than any other thing in this world; as, with God's grace, shortly I trust shall be proved, but not so soon as I would it were; yet I will ensure you there shall be no time lost that may be won, and further can not be done; for *ultra posse non est esse*. Keep him not too long with you, but desire him, for your sake, to make the more speed; for the sooner we shall have word from him, the sooner shall our matter come to pass. And thus upon trust of your short repair to London, I make an end of my letter, mine own sweet heart.

Written with the hand of him which desireth as much to be yours as you do to have him.

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

Darling, I heartily recommend me to you, ascertaining you that I am not a little perplexed with such things as your brother shall on my part declare unto you, to whom I pray you will give full credence, for it were too long to write. In my last letters I writ to you that I trusted shortly to see you, which is better known at London than with any that is about me, whereof I not a little marvel; but lack of discreet handling must needs be the cause thereof. No more to you at this time, but I trust shortly that our meetings shall not depend upon other men's light handlings, but upon our own.

Written with the hand of him that longs to be yours.

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.[1]

Mine own sweetheart, this shall be to advertise you of the great elengeness[2] that I find here since your

[1] Sharon Turner considers this letter as written in very "decorous," affectionate, and earnest terms. Making all allowances for the manners of the times, it can only exhibit Henry's profligate passion in no very creditable light; nor does it say much for Anne's sense of propriety that she could consent to receive, much less preserve, notes of such a coarse character.---Halliwell, p. 318.

[2] Loneliness. The term is still used in some parts of Kent. "It is an ellinge house," i.e. lonely, solitary.---Halliwell, p. 318.

departing; for I ensure you me thinketh the time longer since your departing now last, than I was wont to do a whole fortnight. I think your kindness and my fervency of love causeth it; for, otherwise, I would not have thought it possible that for so little a while it should have grieved me. But now that I am coming towards you, methinketh my pains be half removed; and also I am right well comforted in so much that my book maketh substantially for my matter;[1] in looking whereof I have spent above four hours this day, which caused me to write the shorter letter to you at this time, because of some pain in my head; wishing myself (especially an evening) in my sweetheart's arms, whose pretty dukkys I trust shortly to cusse.[2]

Written by the hand of him that was, is, and shall be yours by his own will,

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

To inform you what joy it is to me to understand of your conformableness with reason, and of the suppressing of your inutile and vain thoughts with the

[1] The king here alludes to a treatise he was then composing on the unlawfulness of his present marriage.

[2] To kiss.

bridle of reason. I assure you all the greatness of this world co ld not counterpoise for my satisfaction the knowledge and certainty thereof. Therefore, good sweetheart, continue the same, not only in this, but in all your doings hereafter; for thereby shall come, both to you and me the greatest quickness that may be in this world.

The cause why the bearer stays so long, is the gear I have had to dress up for you;[1] which I trust, ere long, to see you occupy; and then I trust to occupy yours, which shall be recompense enough to me for all my pains and labour.

The unfeigned sickness of this well-willing legate[2] doth somewhat retard this access to your person; but I trust verily, when God shall send him health, he will with diligence recompense his demur. For I know when he hath said (touching the saying and bruit[3] that he is thought imperial), that it shall be well known in this matter that he is not imperial;[4] and this, for lack of time. Farewell.

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[1] The furnishing of Suffolk House.

[2] Cardinal Campeggio, who was expected to open the legantine court, and pronounce the divorce. Anne suspected that his illness was fictitious.

[3] Report.

[4] Meaning that he was not devoted to the interests of Queen Katherine s nephew, the emperor.---Miss Strickland's "Queens," vol. iv. p. 202.

Sir T. More's Letter to Cromwell concerning the Nun of Kent.—1534.[1]

Right Worshipful,

After my most hearty recommendation, with like thanks for your Goodness, in accepting of my rude long Letter. I perceive, that of your further goodness and favour towards me, it liked your Mastership to break with my Son *Roper*, of that, that I had had communication, not only with divers that were of Acquaintance with the lewd Nun of *Canterbury*, but also with herself; and had, over that, by my writing, declaring favour towards her, given her advice and counsel; of which my demeanour, that it liketh you to be content to take the labour and the pain to hear, by mine own writing, the truth, I very heartily thank you, and reckon myself therein right deeply beholden to you.

It is, I suppose, about eight or nine Years ago sith I heard of that Housewife first; at which time the Bishop of *Canterbury* that then was, God assoil his Soul, sent unto the King's Grace a roll of Paper, in which were written certain words of hers, that she had, as report was then made, at sundry times spoken in her Trances; whereupon it pleased the King's

[1] Ex. MSS. Norfolcianis in Col. Gresham.

Grace to deliver me the Roll, commanding me to look thereon, and afterwards shew him what I thought therein. Whereunto, at another time, when his Highness asked me, I told him, That in good faith I found nothing in these words that I could anything regard or esteem; for seeing that some part fell in Rithm, and that, God wots, full rude also; for any reason, God wots, that I saw therein, a right simple Woman might, in my mind, speak it of her own wit well enough. Howbeit, I said, that because it was constantly reported for a truth, that God wrought in her, and that a Miracle was shewed upon her; I durst not, nor would not, be bold in judging the Matter. And the King's Grace, as me thought, esteemed the Matter as light as it after proved lewd. . . . .

From that time, till about *Christmass*, was twelve-month, albeit that continually there was much talking of her and of her Holiness, yet never heard I any talk rehearsed, either of Revelation of hers, or Miracle, saving that I heard say divers times, in my Lord Cardinal's days, that she had been both with his Lordship, and with the King's Grace, but what she said, either to the one or to the other, upon my Faith, I had never heard any one word. Now, as I was about to tell you, about *Christmass* was twelve-months Father *Risby* Friar Observant, then of *Canterbury*, lodged one night at mine House; where, after Supper, a little before he went to his Chamber, he fell in communication with me of the Nun, giving her high

commendation of Holiness, and that it was wonderful to see and understand the Works that God wrought in her; which thing, I answered, That I was very glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof. Then he told me, that she had been with my Lord Legate in his Life, and with the King's Grace too; and that she had told my Lord Legat a Revelation of hers, of three Swords that God hath put in my Lord Legat's hand, which if he ordered not well, God would lay it sore to his Charge. The first, he said, was the ordering the Spirituality under the Pope, as Legat. The second, The Rule that he bore in order of the Temporality under the King, as his Chancellor. And the third, she said, was the medling he was put in trust with by the King, concerning the great matter of his Marriage. And therewithal I said unto him, That any Revelation of the King's Matters I would not hear of, I doubt not but the goodness of God should direct his Highness with his Grace and Wisdom, that the thing should take such end as God should be pleased with, to the King's Honour, and Surety of the Realm. When he heard me say these words, or the like, he said unto me, That God had specially commanded her to pray for the King; and forthwith he brake again into her Revelations concerning the Cardinal, that his Soul was saved by her Mediation; and without any other Communication went unto his Chamber. And he and I never talked any more of any such manner of matter, nor since his departing on

the Morrow ; I never saw him after, to my remembrance, till I saw him at *Paul's* Cross.

After this, about Shrovetide, there came unto me, a little before Supper, Father *Rich*, Friar Observant of *Richmond* ; and as we fell in talking, I asked him of Father *Risby*, how he did ? And upon that occasion, he asked me, Whether Father *Risby* had any thing shewed me of the Holy Nun of *Kent?* and I said, Yea, and that I was very glad to hear of her Vertue. I would not, quoth he, tell you again that you have heard of him already ; but I have heard, and known, many great Graces that God hath wrought in her, and other Folk by her, which I would gladly tell you, if I thought you had not heard them already. And therewith he asked me, Whether Father *Risby* had told me any thing of her being with my Lord Cardinal ? and I said, Yea : Then he told you, quoth he, of the three Swords : Yea verily, quoth I. Did he tell you, quoth he, of the Revelations that she had concerning the King's Grace ? Nay forsooth, quoth I, nor if he would have done, I would not have given him the hearing ; nor verily no more I would indeed, for sith she hath been with the King's Grace her self, and told him, me-thought it a thing needless to tell me, or to any Man else. And when Father *Rich* perceived that I would not hear her Revelations concerning the King's Grace, he talked on a little, of her Vertue, and let her Revelations alone ; and therewith my Supper was set upon the Board, where I required him

to sit with me; but he would in nowise tarry, but departed to *London*. After that night I talked with him twice, once in mine own House, another time in his own Garden at the *Friars*, at every time a great space, bnt not of any Revelations touching the King's Grace, but only of other mean Folk, I knew not whom of, which things, some were very strange, and some were very childish. But albeit, that he said, He had seen her lie in her Trance, in great pains, and that he had at other times taken great spiritual comfort in her Communication; yet did he never tell me that she had told him those Tales her self; for if he had, I would, for the Tale of *Mary Magdalen* which he told me, and for the Tale of the Hostie, with which, as I have heard she said she was Houseled at the King's Mass at *Calice*: If I had heard it of him, as told unto himself by her Mouth for a Revelation, I would have both liked him and her the worse. But whether ever I heard the same Tale of *Rich* or of *Risby*, or of neither of them both, but of some other Man since she was in hold, In good faith I cannot tell; but I wot well when or wheresoever I heard it, me thought it a Tale too marvellous to be true, and very likely that she had told some Man her Dream, which told it out for a Revelation. And in effect, I little doubted but that some of these Tales that were told of her were untrue; but yet sith I never heard them reported as spoken by her own Mouth, I thought nevertheless that many of them might be

true, and she a very vertuous Woman too; as some Lyes be peradventure written of some that be Saints in Heaven, and yet many Miracles indeed done by them for all that.

After this, I being upon a day at *Sion*, and talking with divers of the Fathers together at the Grate, they shewed me that she had been with them, and shewed me divers things that some of them misliked in her; and in this talking, they wished that I had spoken with her, and said, they would fain see how I should like her. Whereupon, afterward, when I heard that she was there again, I came thither to see her, and to speak with her my self. At which Communication had, in a little Chappel, there were none present but we two: in the beginning whereof, I shewed that my coming to her was not of any curious mind, any thing to know of such things as Folks talked, that it pleased God to reveal and shew unto her, but for the great Vertue that I had heard so many Years, every day more and more spoken and reported of her; I therefore had a great mind to see her, and be acquainted with her, that she might have somewhat the more occasion to remember me to God in her Devotion and Prayers; whereunto she gave me a very good vertuous Answer, That as God did of his goodness far better by her than she, a poor Wretch, was worthy, so she feared that many Folk yet beside that spoke of their own favourable minds many things for her, far above the Truth, and that of me she had many such things

heard, that already she prayed for me, and ever would; whereof I heartily thanked her. I said unto her, Madam, one *Hellen*, a Maiden dwelling about *Totnam*, of whose Trances and Revelations there hath been much talking; she hath been with me of late, and shewed me, that she was with you, and that after the rehearsal of such Visions as she had seen you shewed her, that they were no Revelations, but plain Illusions of the Devil, and advised her to cast them out of her mind: And verily she gave therein good credence unto you, and thereupon hath left to lean any longer unto such Visions of her own: Whereupon she saith, she findeth your words true, for ever since, she hath been less visited with such things as she was wont to be before. To this she answered me, Forsooth Sir, There is in this point no praise unto me, but the goodness of God, as it appeareth, hath wrought much meekness in her Soul, which hath taken my rude warning so well, and not grudged to hear her Spirit and Visions reproved. I liked her, in good Faith, better for this answer, than for many of these things that I heard reported by her. Afterward she told me, upon that occasion, how great need Folk have, that are visited with such Visions, to take heed, and prove well of what Spirit they come of; and in that Communication she told me, That of late the Devil, in likeness of a Bird, was flying and fluttering about her in a Chamber, and suffered himself to be taken; and being in hands, suddenly changed, in their

sight that were present, into such a strange ugly fashioned Bird : that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a Window.

For conclusion ; we talked no word of the King's Grace, or any great Personage else, nor in effect, of any Man or Woman, but of her self and my self ; but after no long communication had, for or ever we met, my time came to go home, I gave her a Double Ducate, and prayed her to pray for me and mine, and so departed from her, and never spake with her after. Howbeit, of a truth, I had a great good opinion of her, and had her in great estimation, as you shall perceive by the Letter that I wrote unto her. For afterwards, because I had often heard that many right worshipful Folks, as well Men as Women, used to have much communication with her ; and many Folk are of nature inquisitive and curious, whereby they fall sometimes into such talking, and better were to forbear, of which thing I nothiug thought while I talked with her of Charity, therefore I wrote her a Letter thereof; which sith it may be peradventure, that she brake or lost, I shall insert the very Copy thereof in this present Letter.

These were the very words.

Good Madam, and my right dearly-beloved Sister in our Lord God, after our most hearty Commendation, I shall beseech you to take my good Mind in

good worth, and pardon me, that I am so homely as of my self unrequired, and also without necessity, to give counsel to you, of whom for the good Inspirations, and great Revelations that it liketh Almighty God of his goodness to give and shew, as many wise, well-learned, and very vertuous Folk testify, I myself have need, for the comfort of my Soul, to require and ask Advice. For surely, good Madam, sith it pleaseth God sometime to suffer, such as are far under and of little estimation, to give yet fruitful advertisement to such other as are in the Light of the Spirit so far above them, that there were between them no comparison; as he suffered his High Prophet *Moses* to be in some things advised and counselled by *Jethro*, I cannot, for the love that in our Lord I bear you, refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, which in my poor mind I think highly necessary to be by your Wisdom considered, referring the end, and the order thereof, to God and his Holy Spirit, to direct you. Good Madam, I doubt not, but that you remember that in the beginning of my Communication with you, I shewed you, that I neither was, nor would be, curious of any knowledg of other Mens Matters, and least of all of any Matter of Princes, or of the Realm, in case it so were, that God had, as to many good Folks before-time, he hath any time revealed unto you such things, I said unto your Ladyship, that I was not only not desirous to hear of, but also would not hear of. Now Madam, I consider well that many

Folk desire to speak with you, which are not all peradventure of my mind in this Point; but some hap to be curious and inquisitive of things that little pertain unto their parts; and some might peradventure hap to talk of such things as might peradventure after turn to much harm; as I think you have heard how the late Duke of *Buckingham*, moved with the fame of one that was reported for an Holy Monk, and had such talking with him, as after was a great part of his destruction, and disheriting of his Blood, and great slander and infamy of Religion. It sufficeth me, good Madam, to put you in remembrance of such things, as I nothing doubt your Wisdom, and the Spirit of God shall keep you from talking with any Person, specially with high Persons, of any such manner things as pertain to Princes Affairs, or the State of the Realm, but only to commune and talk with any Person, high and low, of such manner things as may to the Soul be profitable for you to shew, and for them to know. And thus, my good Lady, and dearly beloved Sister in our Lord, I make an end of this my needless advertisement unto you, whom the Blessed Trinity preserve and increase in Grace, and put in your mind to recommend me and mine unto him in your devout Prayers. At *Chelsey*, this *Tuesday*, by the Hand of

Thomas More, Kt.

At the receipt of this Letter, she answered my Servant, that she heartily thanked me: Soon after this there came to mine House the Prior of the *Charterhouse* at *Skene*, and one Brother *Williams* with him, who nothing talked to me, but of her, and of the great joy that they took in her Vertue, but of any of her Revelations they had no communication. But at another time Brother *Williams* came to me, and told me a long Tale of her, being at the House of a Knight in *Kent*, that was sore troubled with Temptations to destroy himself; and none other thing we talked of, nor should have done of likelyhood, though we had tarried together much longer, he took so great pleasure, good Man, to tell the Tale, with all the Circumstances at length. When I came again another day to *Sion*, on a day in which there was a Profession, some of the Fathers asked me how I liked the Nun? And I answered, that, in good Faith, I liked her very well in her talking; howbeit, quoth I, she is never the nearer tried by that, for I assure you, she were likely to be very bad, if she seemed good, e're I should think her other, till she happened to be proved naught; and in good Faith, that is my manner indeed, except I were set to search and examine the truth, upon likelyhood of some cloaked evil; for in that case, although I nothing suspected the Person my self, yet no less than if I suspected him sore, I would as far, as my wit would serve me, search to find out the truth, as your self hath done very prudently in this

Matter ; wherein you have done, in my mind, to your great laud and praise, a very meritorious Deed, in bringing forth to light such detestable Hypocrisy, whereby every other Wretch may take warning, and be feared to set forth their own devilish dissembled falshood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful Work of God ; for verily, this Woman so handled her self, with help of that evil Spirit that inspired her, that after her own Confession declared at *Paul's* Cross, when I sent word by my servant unto the Prior of the *Charterhouse*, that she was undoubtedly proved a false deceiving Hypocrite ; The good Man had had so good opinion of her so long, that he could at the first scantly believe therein. Howbeit it was not he alone that thought her so very good, but many another right good Man besides, as little marvel upon so good report, till she was proved naught.

I remember me further, that in Communication between Father *Rich* and me ; I counselled him, that in such strange things as concerned such Folk as had come unto her, to whom, as she said, she had told the causes of their coming, e're themselves spake thereof ; and such good Fruit as they said that many Men had received by her Prayer, he, and such other as so reported it, and thought that the knowledge thereof should much pertain to the Glory of God, should first cause the things to be well and sure examined by the Ordinaries, and such as had Authority thereunto ; so that it might be surely known whether the things

were true or not, and that there were no Letters intermingled among them, or else the Letters might after hap to aweigh the credence of these things that were true. And when he told me the Tale of *Mary Magdalen*, I said unto him, Father *Rich*, that she is a good vertuous Woman, in good Faith, I hear so many good Folk so report, that I verily think it true ; and think it well-likely that God worketh some good and great things by her ; but yet are, you wot well, these strange Tales no part of our Creed ; and therefore before you see them surely proved, you shall have my poor counsel, not to wed your self so far forth to the credence of them, as to report them very surely for true, least that if it should hap that they were afterwards proved false, it might minish your estimation in your Preaching, whereof might grow great loss. To this he thanked me for my counsel, but how he used it after that, I cannot tell.

Thus have I, good Mr. *Cromwell*, fully declared to you, as far as my self can call to remembrance, all that ever I have done or said in this Matter, wherein I am sure that never one of them all shall tell you any further thing of effect ; for if any of them, or any Man else, report of me, as I trust verily no Man will, and I wot well truly no Man can, any Word or Deed by me spoken or done, touching any breach of my legal Truth and Duty toward my most redoubted Soveraign, and natural Liege Lord, I will come to mine Answer, and make it good in such wise as

becometh a poor true Man to do; and whosoever any such thing shall say, shall therein say untrue: for I neither have in this Matter done evil, nor said evil, nor so much as any evil thing thought, but only have been glad, and rejoiced of them that were reported for good; which condition I shall nevertheless keep toward all other good Folk, for the false cloaked Hypocrisy of any of these, no more than I shall esteem *Judas* the true Apostle, for *Judas* the false Traitor.

But so purpose I to bear my self in every Man's Company, while I live, that neither good man nor bad, neither Monk, Friar, nor Nun, nor other Man or Woman in this World, shall make me digress from my Truth and Faith, either towards God, or towards my natural Prince, by the Grace of Almighty God; and as you therein find me true, so I heartily therein pray you to continue toward me your favour and good-will, as you shall be sure of my poor daily prayer; for other pleasure can I not do you. And thus the Blessed Trinity, both bodily and ghostly, long preserve and prosper you.

I pray you pardon me, that I write unto you of mine own hand, for verily I am compelled to forbear writing for a while, by reason of this Disease of mine, whereof the chief occasion is grown, as it is thought, by the stooping and leaning on my Breast, that I have used in writing. And thus, eft-soons, I beseech our Lord long to preserve you.

THOMAS MORE.

HENRY VIII. to the JUDGES, touching the Pope's authority, and his own assumption of the title of Supreme Head of the Church.[1] 1535.

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore you know, both upon most just and virtuous foundation founded upon the laws of Almighty God and Holy Scriptures, and also by the deliberate advice, consultation, consent, and agreement, as well of the bishops and clergy, as by the nobles and commons temporal of this our realm assembled—our high court of Parliament, and by authority of the same, the abuses of the bishop of Rome, his authority and jurisdiction of long time usurped against us, have not been utterly extirped,[2] abolished, and secluded, but also our nobles and commons, both of the clergy and temporalty, by another several act upon like foundation for the public good of this our realm, have voted, given, and addressed to us and the crown imperial of this our realm, the title, dignity, and style of Supreme Head in Earth, immediately under God, of the Church of England, as undoubtedly evermore we have been; which things also the said bishops and clergy in their convocations have wholly and

[1] Harleian MSS. No. 283, Art. 461
[2] Rooted out.

entirely consented, ratified, confirmed, and approved authentically; writing both by their special oaths, professions, and writings, under their signs and seals; so, utterly renouncing all other oaths, obedience, and jurisdiction, either of the bishop of Rome or of any other potentate. We let you wit that, perpending[1] and considering the charge and commission in this behalf given unto us by Almighty God, together with the great quietness, rest, and tranquility, that hereby may ensue to our faithful subjects, both in their consciences and otherwise, to the pleasure of Almighty God, in case the said bishops and clergy of this our realm should sincerely, truly, and faithfully set forth, declare, and preach unto our said subjects, the very true word of God; and without all or any colour, dissimulution, and hypocrisy, manifest, publish, and declare the great and inumerable enormities and abuses, which the said bishop of Rome, as well in title and style, as also in authority and jurisdiction, of long time unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us, our progenitors, and all other Christian princes, have not only addressed our letters general to all and every the same bishops, straitly charging and commanding them not only in their proper persons to declare and preach unto the people the true, mere, and sincere word of God, and how the said title, style, and jurisdiction of supreme head appertaineth unto us, our

[1] Pondering upon.

crown, and dignity-royal, and to give like warning, monition, and charge to all abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, schoolmasters, and all other ecclesiastical persons within their diocese to do the semblable[1] in their charges every Sunday and solemn feast, and also in their schools; and to cause all manner of prayers, orisons, rubrics, and canons, in mass-books and all other books used in charges, wherein the said bishop is named, to be utterly abolished, eradicate, and razed out in such wise, as the said bishop of Rome, his name, and memory, for evermore (except unto his contumely and reproach) may be extinct, suppressed, and obscured; but also to the justices of the peace, that they in every place within the precincts of their commission, do make and cause to be made diligent search, wait, and espial, whether the said bishop and clergy do truly and sincerely, without any manner of cloak or dissimulation, execute and accomplish their said charge to them committed in this behalf, and to certify us and our council of such of them that should omit or leave undone any part of the premises, or else in the execution thereof should coldly or faintly use any manner of sinister additions, interpretation, cloak, as is more plainly expressed in our said letters. We, considering the greater zeal and furtherance that you may do in these matters, in the parts about you, and specially at

[1] Like.

your being at assizes and sessions, in the declaration of the premises, have thought it good, necessary, and expedient, to write these our letters unto you, whom we esteem to be of such singular zeal and affection towards the glory of Almighty God and of so faithful and loving heart towards us, as you will not only, with all your wisdoms, diligence, and labours, accomplish all such things as might be to the preferment and setting forward of God's word, and the amplification, defence, and maintenance of our said interest, right, title, style, jurisdiction, and authority appertaineth unto us, our dignity, prerogative, and crown-imperial of this our realm, will and desire you, and nevertheless straitly charge and command you that, laying apart all vain affections, respects, and carnal considerations, and setting before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the right and dignity of your sovereign lord, thus sounding to the inestimable virtue and commodity[1] both of yourself and all other your loving and faithful subjects, you do not only make diligence within the precincts of your commission and authority, whether the said bishops and clergy do truly and sincerely, as before, preach, teach, and declare to the people, the premises according to their duties, but also at your so sitting at assizes and sessions you do persuade, show, and declare unto the same people

[1] Advantage.

the very tenour, effect, and purport of the premises, in such wise as the said bishops and clergy may the better do thereby and execute their said duties ; but that also the parents and rulers of families may declare, teach, and inform their children and servants in the spiritualities of the same, to the utter extirpation of the said bishop's usurped authority, name, and jurisdiction, for ever ; showing and declaring also to the people at your said sessions the treasons traitorously committed against us and our laws by the late bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More, knight,[1] who thereby and by divers secret practices of their malicious minds against us, intended to disseminate, engender, and breed amongst our people and subjects a most mischievous and seditious opinion, not only to their own confusion, but also of sundry others, who lately have condignly suffered execution according to their demerits. And in such wise delating the same with persuasions to the same our people, as they may be the better fixed,

[1] The executions of More and Fisher had taken place the preceding year on Tower Hill. According to Stowe, p. 1004, they were both of them buried in the Tower. These executions struck terror into the minds of the people, and they certainly in some respects appear to have had the effect desired by Henry. Fisher suffered in June, More in July, 1535. Hall says, "Also, the 22nd day of the same month, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was beheaded, and his head set upon London Bridge. This bishop was of very many men lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learning, and a man of very good life, but therein wonderfully deceived, for he maintained the Pope to be supreme head of the Church, and 'very maliciously' refused the king's title of Supreme Head."—Halliwell's "Letters of the Kings of England," vol. i., p. 345.

established, and satisfied in the truth ; and consequently, that all our faithful and true subjects may thereby detest and abhor in their hearts and deeds the most recreant and traitorous abuses of the said malicious malefactors as they be most worthy ; and finding any default, negligence, or dissimulation in any manner of person, or persons, not doing his duty in this part, you immediately do advertise our council of the default, manner, and fashion of the same ; letting you wit that, considering the great moment, weight, and importance of this matter, as whereupon the unity, rest, and quietness of this our realm,[1] if you should, contrary to your duties and our expectation and trust, neglect, be slack, or omit to do diligently your duties, in the performance and execution of our mind, pleasure, and commandment as before, or would halt or stumble at any part or speciality of the same, be ye assured that we, like a prince of justice, will so punish and correct the default and negligence therein, as it shall be an example to all others, how, contrary to their allegiance, oaths, and duties, they do frustrate, deceive, and disobey the just and lawful commandment of their sovereign lord in such things, as by the true, hearty, and faithful execution whereof, they shall not only prefer the honour and glory of God, and set forth the majesty and imperial dignity of their sovereign lord ; but also impart and bring an inestimable unity, concord, and tranquility of the public and common state of this

[1] The word "resteth" appears here omitted.

realm; whereunto both by the laws of God, and nature, and man, they be utterly obliged and bounden: and therefore, fail ye not, most effectually, earnestly, and entirely, to see the premises done and executed, upon pain of your allegiance, and as you will avoid our high indignation and displeasure at your uttermost perils.

Given under our signet, at our manor beside Westminster, the 25th day of June, 1535.

The Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND'S Letter to CROMWELL, denying any Contract, or Promise of Marriage, between Queen ANNE and Himself.[1] 1537.

Mr. Secretary, This shall be to signifie unto you, that I perceyve by Sir *Reginald Carnaby*, that there is supposed a Precontract between the Queen and me; whereupon I was not only heretofore examined upon my Oath before the Archbishopps of *Canterbury* and *York*, but also received the Blessed Sacrament upon the same before the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other the King's Highnes Council Learned in the Spirituall Law; assuring you, Mr. Secretary, by the said Oath, and

[1] Cott. Libr. Otho. C. 10.

Blessed Body which affore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my Damnation, if ever there were any Contracte, or Promise of Marriage between Her and Me. At *Newyngton-Green*, the xiijth Day of *Maye*, in the 28th Year of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord King *Henry* the VIIIth.

Your Assured,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

The King's Letters Patent for printing the Bible in English. 1539.[1]

Henry the Eighth, *&c.* To all and singular Printers and Sellers of Books within this our Realm, and all other Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our Letters hearing or seeing, Greeting. We let you wit, That being desirous to have our People at all times convenient, give themselves to the attaining the knowledge of God's Word, whereby they will the better honour him, and observe and keep his Commandments; and also do their Duties better to us, being their Prince and Sovereign Lord: And considering that this our Zeal and Desire cannot by any mean take so good effect, as by the granting to

[1] Rot. Pat. 31. Hen. 8.

them the free and liberal use of the Bible in our own natural *English* Tongue: so unless it be foreseen that the same pass at the beginning by one Translation to be perused and considered; The frailty of Men is such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold Inconveniences; as when wilful and heady Folk shall confer upon the diversity of the said Translations. We have therefore appointed our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord *Cromwell*, Keeper of our Privy-Seal, to take for us, and in our name, special care and charge, that no manner of Person, or Persons, within this our realm, shall enterprise, attempt, or set in hand to print any Bible in the English Tongue of any manner of Volume, during the space of five years next ensuing after the Date hereof, but only all such as shall be deputed, and admitted by the said Lord *Cromwell*.

The 13 *Novemb. Tricesimo primo Regni.*

END OF VOL. I.

Historical Documents.

[COLLECTANEA ADAMANTÆA.· XIII.]

A

COLLECTION

OF

Historical Documents

Illustrative of the Reigns of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns.

EDITED,

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

EDMUND GOLDSMID, F.R.H.S.,
F.S.A. (Scot.)

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A Collection of Historical Documents

Illustrative of the Reigns of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns.

Cromwell's Letter to the King concerning his Marriage with Ann of Cleve.

An Original.[1] 1540.

To the King, my most gracious Sovereign Lord his Royal Majesty.

Most Merciful King, and most Gracious Sovereign Lord, may it please the same to be advertised, That the last time it pleased your benign Goodness, to send unto me the Right Honourable Lord Chancellor, the Right Honourable Duke of *Norff.* and the Lord Admiral, to examine, and also to declare unto me

[1] Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 10.

divers things from your Majesty; among the which, one special thing they moved, and thereupon they charged me, as I would answer before God at the dreadful day of Judgment, and also upon the extreme danger and damnation of my Soul and Conscience, to say what I knew in the Marriage, and concerning the Marriage, between your Highness and the Queen. To the which I answered as I knew, declaring unto them the Particulars, as nigh as I then could call to remembrance. Which when they had heard, they, in your Majesty's Name, and upon like charge as they had given me before, commanded me to write to your Highness the truth, as much as I knew in that Matter; which now I do, and the very truth, as God shall save me, to the uttermost of my knowledg. First; After your Majesty heard of the Lady *Ann* of *Cleves* arrival at *Dover*, and that her Journies were appointed toward *Greenwich*, and that she should be at *Rochester* on New-years Even at night, your Highness declared to me, that you would privily visit her at *Rochester*, upon New-years-day, adding these words, *To nourish love*; which accordingly your Grace did upon New-years-day, as is above-said. And the next day, being *Friday*, your Grace returned to *Greenwich*, where I spake with your Grace, and demanded of your Majesty, How ye liked the Lady *Ann:* your Highness answered, as me thought, heavily, and not pleasantly, *Nothing so well as she was spoken of;* saying further, *That if your Highness had known as much before*

as ye then knew, she should not have come within this Realm; saying, as by the way of lamentation, *What Remedy?* Unto the which I answered and said, I know none but was very sorry therefore; and so God knoweth I was, for I thought it a hard beginning. The next day after the receipt of the said Lady, and her entry made unto *Greenwich*, and after your Highness had brought her to her Chamber, I then waited upon your Highness into your Privy-Chamber; and being there, your Grace called me unto you, saying to me these words, or the like, *My Lord, is it not as I told you? say what they will, she is nothing so fair as she hath been reported*; *howbeit she is well and seemly*. Whereunto I answered and said, By my Faith, Sir, ye say truth; adding thereunto, that I thought she had a Queenly manner; and nevertheless was sorry that your Grace was no better content: And thereupon your Grace commanded me to call together your Council, which were these by name; The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, my Lord Admiral, and my Lord of *Duresme*, and myself, to commune of these Matters and to know what Commissions the Agents of *Cleves* had brought, as well touching the performance of the Covenants sent before from hence to Dr. *Watton*, to have been concluded in *Cleves*, as also in the declaration how the Matters stood for the Covenants of Marriage, between the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, and the said Lady *Ann*. Whereupon *Olisleger* and *Hogeston* were called, and the Matters purposed; whereby it plainly appeared,

that they were much astonished and abashed, and desired that they might make answer in the next morning, which was *Sunday:* And upon the *Sunday* in the morning your said Counsellors and they met together early, and there eft-soons was proposed unto them, as well touching the Commission for the performance of the Treaty and Articles sent to Mr. *Wotton*, as also touching the Contracts and Covenants of Marriage between the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, and the Lady *Ann*, and what terms they stood in. To which things so proposed, they answered as Men much perplexed, That as touching Commission, they had none to treat concerning the Articles sent to Mr. *Wotton*. And as to the Contracts and Covenants of Marriage they could say nothing, but that a Revocation was made, and that they were but Spousals. And finally, after much reasoning, they offered themselves to remain Prisoners, until such time as they should have sent unto them from *Cleves* the first Articles ratified under the Duke their Master's Sign and Seal, and also the Copy of the Revocation made between the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son and the Lady *Ann*. Upon the which Answers, I was sent to your Highness by my Lords of your Council, to declare to your Highness their Answer; and came to you, by the Privy Way, into your Privy Chamber, and declared unto the same all the Circumstances, wherewith your Grace was very much displeased, saying, *I am not well handled*; insomuch that I might well perceive that your High-

ness was fully determined not to have gone through with the Marriage at that time, saying unto me these words, or the like in effect ; *That if it were not that she is come so far unto my Realm, and the great Preparations that my States and People have made for her, and for fear of making a ruffel in the World ; that is, to mean to drive her Brother into the hands of the Emperor and the French King's hands, being now together, I would never have ne married her.* So that I might well perceive your Grace was neither content with the Person, ne yet with the Proceedings of the Agents ; And at after-dinner, the said *Sunday*, your Grace sent for all your said Counsellors in, repeating how your Highness was handled, as well touching the said Articles, as also the said Matter of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son. It might, and I doubt not, did appear unto them how loth your Highness was to have married at that time. And thereupon, and upon the Considerations aforesaid, your Grace thought that it should be well done that she should make a Protestation before your said Counsellors and Notaries to be present, that she was free from all Contracts ; which was done accordingly. And thereupon I repairing to your Highness, declared how that she had made her Protestation. Whereunto your Grace answered in effect these words, or much like ; *Is there none other Remedy, but that I must needs, against my Will, put my Neck in the Yoke* ; and so departed, leaving your Highness in a study or pensiveness. And yet your Grace determined the next

morning to go through; and in the morning, which was *Monday*, your Majesty preparing your self towards the Ceremonies; There was one Question, Who should lead to the Church? And it was appointed that the Earl of *Essex* deceased, and an Earl that came with her, should lead her to the Church. And thereupon one came to your Highness, and said to you, That the Earl of *Essex* was not come; whereupon your Grace appointed me to be one that should lead her: And so I went into her Chamber, to the intent to have done your Commandment; and shortly after I came into her Chamber, the Earl of *Essex* was come: Whereupon I repaired back again into your Graces Privy Chamber, and shewed your Highness how he was come; and thereupon your Majesty advanced towards the Gallery out of Privy Chamber; and your Grace being in and about the midst of your Chamber of Presence, called me unto you, saying these words, or the like in sentence; *My Lord, if it were not to satisfy the World, and my Realm, I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing*; and therewith one brought your Grace Word that she was coming; and thereupon your Grace repaired into the Gallery towards the Closet, and there paused for her coming, being nothing content that she so long tarried as I judged then. And so consequently she came, and your Grace afterward proceeded to the Ceremonies; and they being finished, travelled the day as appertained, and the night after the custom. And in the morning,

on *Tuesday*, I repairing to your Majesty into your Privy-Chamber, finding your Grace not so pleasant as I trusted to have done, I was so bold to ask your Grace how you liked the Queen? Whereunto your Grace soberly answered, saying, "That I was not all Men, surely, as ye know, I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worse; for," quoth your Highness, "I have felt her Belly, and her Breasts, and thereby, as I can judg, she should be no Maid; which strook me so to the Heart when I felt them, that I had neither will nor courage to proceed any further in other Matters;" saying, "I have left her as good a Maid as I found her:" Which me thought then ye spake displeasantly, which made me very sorry to hear; Your Highness also after *Candlemass*, and before *Shrovstie*, once or twice said, "That ye were in the same case with her as ye were afore, and that your Heart could never consent to meddle with her carnally." Notwithstanding your Highness alledged, that ye for the most part used to lay nightly, or every second night by her, and yet your Majesty ever said, "That she was as good a Maid for you, as ever her Mother bare her, for anything ye had ministred to her." Your Highness shewed to me also in *Lent* last passed, at such time as your Grace had some communication with her of my Lady *Mary*, how that she began to wax stubborn and willful, ever lamenting your fate, and ever verifying that ye never had any carnal knowledg with her: And also after *Easter*, your Grace likewise,

at divers times, and in the *Whitsun*-week, in your Grace's Privy-Chamber at *Greenwich*, exceedingly lamented your fate, and that your greatest grief was, "That ye should surely never have any more Children for the comfort of this Realm, if ye should so continue;" assuring me, "that before God ye thought she was never your lawful Wife." At which time your Grace knoweth what answer I made; which was, that I would for my part do my utmost to comfort and deliver your Grace of your Afflictions; and how sorry I was both to see and hear your Grace God knoweth. Your Grace divers times sithen *Whitsuntide*, ever alleadging one thing, and also saying, "That ye had as much to do to move the consent of your Heart and Mind as ever did Man, and that you took God to witness; but ever," you said, "the Obstacle could never out of your Mind." And, Gracious Prince, after that you had first seen her at *Rochester*, I never thought in my heart that ye were or would be contented with that Marriage. And, Sir, I know now in what case I stand, in which is only the Mercy of God and your Grace; if I have not, to the uttermost of my remembrance, said the Truth, and the whole Truth in this Matter, God never help me. I am sure there is, as I think, no Man in this your Realm that knew more in this than I did, your Highness only excepted. And I am sure, my Lord Admiral calling to his remembrance, can shew your Highness, and be

my Witness what I said unto him after your Grace came from *Rochester*, yea, and after your Grace's Marriage: And also now of late, sithence *Whitsuntide*, and I doubt not but many and divers of my Lords of your Council, both before your Marriage and sithence, have right-well perceived that your Majesty hath not been well pleased with your Marriage. And as I shall answer to God, I never thought your Grace content, after you had once seen her at *Rochester*. And this is all that I know, most gracious and most merciful Sovereign Lord, beseeching Almighty God, who ever hath in all your Causes counselled, preserved, opened, maintained, relieved, and defended your Highness; So he will now vouchsafe to counsel you, preserve you, maintain you, remedy you, relieve and defend you, as may be most to your Honour, with Prosperity, Health, and Comfort of your Hearts desire. For the which, and for the long Life, and prosperous Reign of your most Royal Majesty, I shall, during my Life, and whiles I am here, pray to Almighty God, that he of his most abundant Goodness will help, aid, and comfort you, after your continuance of *Nester's* Years: that that most noble Imp, the Princes Grace, your most dear Son, may succeed you to Reign long, prosperously, and feliciously to God's pleasure: beseeching most humbly your Grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to consider that I am a most woful Prisoner, ready to take the Death, when it shall please God and your Majesty;

and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your Grace for Mercy and Grace for mine Offences; and thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you.

Written at the *Tower* this *Wednesday*, the last of *June*, with the heavy Heart, and trembling hand, of your Highness's most heavy and most miserable Prisoner, and poor Slave,

Thomas Cromwell.

Most Gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.

King EDWARD's Devise for the Succession, written with his own Hand. 1552.

For lack of Issue Male of my Body, to the Issue Male coming of the Issue Female, as I have after declared. To the said Frances Heirs Males, if she have any; for lack of such Issue before my Death, to the said Jane and Heirs Males; to the said Katherine's Heirs Males; to the Lady Mary's Heirs Males: To the Heirs Males of the Daughters, which She shall have hereafter. Then to the Lady Marget's Heirs Males. For Lack of such Issue, to the Heirs Males of the Lady Jane's Daughters; to the Heirs Males of the Lady Katherine's Daughters, and so forth, till you come to the Lady Marget's Heirs Males.

2. If after my Death the Heir Male be entred into Eighteen Year old, then He to have the whole Rule and Governance thereof.

3. But if He be under Eighteen, then his Mother to be Governes, till He enters Eighteen Year old : But to do nothing without the Advice and Aggreement of Six Parcell of a Councill, to be pointed by my last Will, to the Number of 20.

4. If the Mother die before the Heir enter into Eighteen, the Realm to be governed by the Councill: Provided that after He be Fourteen Year, all Great Matters of Importance be opened to Him.

5. If I died without Issue, and there were none Heir Male; then the Lady Frances to be Gouvernes Regent. For lack of her, her Eldest Daughters ; and for lack of them, the Lady Marget to be Governes after, as is aforesaid, till some Heir Male be born ; and then the Mother of that Child to be Governes.

6. And if, during the Rule of the Gouvernes, there die Four of the Councill; then shall she, by her Letters, call an Assembly of the Councill, within One Month following, and chuse Four more : Wherein She shall have Three Voices. But after her Death, the Sixteen shall Chuse among themselves, till the Heir come to Fourteen Year old ; and then He, by their Advice, shall chuse them.

The last Two Paragraphs, and what is scored underneath, are dashed out, yet so as to be legible.

The QUEEN's Letter, ordering the Manner of HOOPER's Execution.[1] 1555.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, &c. Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called Bushop of Worcester and Gloucester, is, by due Order of the Lawes Ecclesiastique, condempned and judged for a moste obstinate, false, detestable Heretique, and committed to our Secular Power, to be burned according to the holsome and good Lawes of our Realme in that Case provided. Forasmuche as in those Cityes, and the Diocesse therof, he hath in Tymes paste preached and taught most pestilent Heresyes and Doctryne to our Subjects there: We have therefore geven Order, that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused Mercy when it was gracyously offred, shall be put to Execution in the sayd Cytie of Gloucester, for the Example and Terror of suche as he hath there seduced and mistaught, and bycause he hath doone moste Harme there. And woll that you, calling unto you some of Reputation dwelling in the Shire, such as ye thinke best, shall repayre unto our said Cytye, and be at the said Execution, assisting our Mayor and Shriefs of the same Cytie, in this Behalf. And forasmuche also as the said Hooper is, as Heretiques be, a vain-glorious

[1] Cott. Libr. Cl.op. E. 5.

Person, and delyteth in his Tongue, and having Liberty, may use his sayd Tongue to perswade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the myserable Opinion that he hath sowen among them: Our Pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take Order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the Tyme of his Execution, nor in goyng to the Place therof, suffred to speak at large; but thither to be ledde quietly, and in Sylence, for eschuyng of further Infection, and such Inconvenyence, as may otherwise ensue in this Parte. Whereof fayle not, as ye tender our Pleasure.

A True Copy of an Old Paper in my Custody, which seems to be the first Draught of a Letter from the Queen to the Lord *Chandois*, &c. who went to see Execution done on Bishop *Hooper*.

Thom. Tanner.

The Writ for the burning of CRANMER. 1556.

Philip and Mary, &c.

To our right trusty Nicholas, Arch-Bishop of York, Lord Chancellor of England, Greeting. We Will and Command you, that immediately

upon the sight hereof, and by Warrant of the same, ye do cause to be made a Writ for the Execution of Thomas Cranmer, late Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; and the same so made, to Seal with our Great Seal of England, being in your Custody, according to the Tenor and Form hereafter following.

Phillipus et Maria Dei Gratia, etc. Majori et Ballivis Civitatis Oxon. Salutatem. Cum Sanctissimus Pater noster Paulus Papa ejusdem Nominis Quartus, per sententiam definitivam juris Ordine in ea parte requisito in omnibus observato, et juxta canonicas sanctiones judicialiter et definitive, Thomam Cranmer nuper Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, fore Hæresiarchum, Anathematizatum, et Hæreticum manifestum, propter suos varios nefandos Errores manifestos et damnibiles Hæreses, et detestandas et pessimas Opiniones, Fidei nostræ Catholicæ, et Universalis Ecclesiæ determinationi obviantes et repugnantes: et prædict. Thomam Cranmer multis modis contract. comiss. dict. affirmat. perpetrat. et publice et pertinaciter tent. Et defens. judicavit, declaravit, pronunsiavit et condemnavit, et eadem causa iidem Sanctissimus Pater noster Papa Paulus quartus Judicialiter et definitive, more solito, prædictum Thomam Cranmer a prædicto Archiepiscopatu, aliis Prælaturis, dignitatibus, Officiis et Beneficiis

deprivavit et abjudicavit, prout cunctam inde habemus noticiam: Cumq; etiam Reverendus in Christo Pater Edmundus Londini Episcopus, et Thomas Elien Episcopus Authoritate ejusdem Sanctissimi nostri Patris Papæ prædictum Thomam Cranmer ab omni Divine, Gradu, Officio et Dignitate Ecclesiastica, tanquam Hæresiarcham et Hereticum manifestum realiter degradaverunt; Vigore cujus idem Thomas Cranmer in presenti Hæreticus et Hæresiarcha juste, legitime, et Canonice Judicatus, condemnatus et degradatus existit; Et cum etiam Mater Ecclesia non habet quod ulterius in hac parte contra tam putridum et dstestabile membrum et Heresiarchum faciat aut facere debeat, Iidem Reverendi Patres eundem Thomam Cranmer damnatum Hæreticum et Hæresiarcham brachiis et potestati nostris secularibus tradiderunt, commiserunt et reliquerunt, prout per Literas Patentes eorundem Reverendorum Patrum superinde confect. nobis in Cancellaria nostra Certificatum est. Nos igitur ut Zelatores Justiciæ, et Fidei Catholiciæ Defensores, volentesque Eccleasiam Sanctam, ac Jura et Libertates ejusdem, et Fidem Catholicam manutenere et defendere, hujusmodi Hæreses et Errores ubique, quantum in nobis est, eradicare et extirpare, et prædictum Thomam Heresiarcham ac convictum, damnat. et degradat. animadversione condigna punire. Attendentesque hujusmodi Heretic. et Heresiarch. in forma præd.cta convict.

damnat. et degradat. juxta Leges et consuetudines Regni nostri Angliæ in hac parte consuetas ignis incendio comburi debere; Vobis Præcipimus quod dictum Thomam Cranmer, in custodia vestra existen. in Loco publico et aperto, infra Libertatem dicti Civitatis nostræ Oxon. ex causa prædicta, coram Populo igni Committi, ac ipsum Thomam Cranmer in eodem igne realiter comburi facietis, in hujusmodi Criminis detestationem, aliorum Christianorum exemplum manifestum: Et hoc sub pœna et periculo incumbente, ac prout nobis subinde respondere volueritis, nullatenus Omittatis. Test. nobis ipsis apud Westmonasterium, Vicesimo quarto Februarii, Annis Regis et Reginæ secundo ac tertio.

And this Bill, signed with the hand of Us the said Queen, shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge for the same.

The Bond of Association, with this Title, Ane Contract of the Lords and Barons, to defend the Liberty of the Evangell of Christ.[1]

At Edinburgh, the Twintie seventh of Apryll, the Year of God Ane thousand Fyve hundred Threescore

[1] Copied from the Original at Hamilton.

Years : We whaes Names are underwritten, haif promittit and obliedged our selves faithfully, in the Presence of our God, and be thir Presents promitts, that we altogether in General, and every one of us in Special, be himself, with our Bodies, Goods, Friends, and all that we may do, sall set forwart the Reformation of Religion, according to Goddes Worde ; and procure, be all Means possible, that the true Preaching of Goddes Worde, may haif free Passage within this Realme, with dew Administration of the Sacraments, and all Thinges depending upon the said Worde. And sicklyke deiply weighing with our selves the Misbehaviour of the Franche Ministers heir, the intolerable Oppressions committed be the Franchemen of Weir, upon the puir Subjects of this Realme, be Meyntenance of the Queen Dowriare, under Collour and Pretence of Authority ; the Tyranny of their Captains and Leaders, and manifest Danger of Conqueist, in whilk this Countrie presently stands ; be Reason of diverse Fortifications on the Sea-Coast, and other Novelties of late attemptat be them; promitts that we sall als weell every one with others, as altogether with the Queen of England's Armie, presently come in for our Deliverance, effectually concurr and joyn together, taking one fold and plain Part of the Expulsion of the said Strayngars, Oppressors of our Liberty, furth of this Realme, and Recovery of our Ancient Freedomes and Liberties ; to the end in Tyme coming, we may, under the Obedience of our King and Queen our

Soverains, be only Reulyt be the Laws and Customes of the Countrie, and by the Men of the Land: And that never any of us all haiff pryvy Intelligence, be Writing, or Message, or Communication, with any of our said Enemyes or Adversars in this Cause, bot be the Advyce of the rest, at leist of Fyve of our Numbers: Attour, that we sall tender this present Cause, as if it were the Cause of every one of us in particular; and that the Cause of every one of us now joyned together, being leiful and honest, shall be all our Causes in General. And he that is Enemy to the Cause forsaid, sall be Enemy to us all: In so far, that whatsomever Person will plainly resist this our Godly Interprysis, and will not concurr as ane guid Member of this Common Weill; we sall fortify the Authority of the Counsell, to reduce them to their Deuty: Lyke as we sall fortify the said Authority of the Counsale, in all Things tending to the Furtherance of the said Cause. And giff any particular Debate, Quarrell or Controversee sall aryse, for whatsomever Cause, bygain, present or to come, betwixt any of us; (as God forbid) in that Case, we sall submit our selves, and our said Questions, to the Decision of the Counsaille, or to Arbitrators, to be named be them. Provyding allwayes, that this be not prejudicial to the ordinar Jurisdiction of Judges: But that Men may persue their Actions by Ordour of Law, Civilly or Criminally, befor the Judges Ordinars, gif they please

A Letter written by LETHINGTON, the Secretary of Scotland, to Sir WILLIAM CECIL, the Queen of England's Secretary, touching the Title of the Queen of Scots to the Crown of England: By which it appears that King Henry's Will was not signed by him. 1566.[1]

I cannot be ignorant that some do object as to her Majesties Forreign Birth, and hereby think to make her incapable of the Inheritance of England. To that you know for answer what may be said by an English Patron of my Mistriss's Cause, although I being a Scot will not affirm the same, that there ariseth amongst you a Question; Whether the Realm of Scotland be forth of the Homage and Leageance of England: And therefore you have in sundry Proclamations preceding your Wars-making, and in sundry Books at sundry times, laboured much to prove the Homage and Fealty of Scotland to England. Your Stories also be not void of this intent. What the judgment of the Fathers of your Law is, and what commouly is thought in this Matter, you know better

[1] Ex. MS. D. G. Petyt.

than I, and may have better intelligence than I, the Argument being fitter for your Assertion than mine.

Another Question there is also upon this objection of Forreign Birth; that is to say, Whether Princes inheritable to the Crown, be in case of the Crown exempted or concluded as private Persons, being Strangers born forth of the Allegiance of England. You know in this case, as divers others, the State of the Crown: the Persons inheritable to the Crown at the time of their Capacity, have divers differences and prerogatives from other Persons; many Laws made for other Persons take no hold in case of the Prince, and they have such Privileges as other persons enjoy not: As in cases of Attainders, and other Penal Laws: Examples, Hen. 7. who being a Subject, was attainted; and Ed. 4. and his Father Richard Plantagenet were both attainted; all which notwithstanding their Attainders had right to the Crown, and two of them attained the same. Amongst many Reasons to be shewed, both for the differences, and that Forreign Birth doth not take place in the case of the Crown, as in common Persons, the many experiences before the Conquest, and since, of your Kings, do plainly testify. 2. Of purpose I will name unto you, Hen. 2d. Maud the Empress Son, and Richard of Bordeaux, the Black Princes Son, the rather for that neither of the two was the King of England's Son, and so not *Enfant du Roy*, if the word be taken in this strict signification. And for the better proof, that it was

always the common Law of your Realm, that in the case of the Crown, Forreign Birth was no Bar; you do remember the words of the Stat. 25. Ed. 3. where it is said, the Law was ever so: Whereupon if you can remember it, you and I fell out at a reasoning in my Lord of Leicester's Chamber, by the occasion of the Abridgment of *Rastal*, wherein I did shew you somewhat to this purpose; also these words, *Infant* and *Ancestors* be in *Prædicamento ad aliquid*, and so Correlatives in such sort, as the meaning of the Law was not to restrain the understanding of this word *Infant*, so strict as only to the Children of the King's Body, but to others inheritable in remainder; and if some Sophisters will needs cavil about the precise understanding of *Infant*, let them be answered with the scope of this word *Ancestors* in all Provisions, for *Filii*, *Nepotes* and *Liberi*, you may see there was no difference betwixt the first degree, and these that come after by the Civil Law. *Liberorum appellatione comprehenduntur non solum Filii, verum etiam Nepotes, Pronepotes, Abnepotes*, &c. If you examine the Reason why Forreign Birth is excluded, you may see that it was not so needful in Princes Cases, as in common Persons. Moreover, I know that England hath oftentimes married with Daughters, and married with the greatest Forreign Princes of Europe. And so I do also understand, that they all did repute the Children of them, and of the Daughters of England, inheritable in succession to that Crown, notwithstanding

the Forreign Birth of their Issue : And in this case I do appeal to all Chronicles, to their Contracts of Marriages, and to the opinion of all the Princes of Christendom. For tho England be a noble and puissant Country, the respect of the Alliance only, and the Dowry, hath not moved the great Princes to match so often in marriage, but the possibility of the Crown in succession. I cannot be ignorant altogether in this Matter, considering that I serve my Sovereign in the room that you serve yours. The Contract of Marriage is extant betwixt the King, my Mistris's Grandfather, and Queen Margaret, Daughter to King Henry the 7th, by whose Person the Title is devolved on my Sovereign ; what her Fathers meaning was in bestowing of her, the World knoweth, by that which is contained in the Chronicles written by Polidorus Virgilius, before (as I think) either you or I was born ; at least when it was little thought that this Matter should come in question. There is another Exception also laid against my Soveraign, which seems at the first to be of some weight, grounded upon some Statutes made in King Hen. 8. time (viz.) of the 28th, and 35th of his Reign, whereby full power and authority was given him the said King Henry, to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare, and limit, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or else by his last Will made in writing, and signed with his hand at his pleasure, from time to time thereafter the Imperial Crown of that Realm, &c. Which Imperial

Crown is by some alledged and constantly affirmed to have been limited and disposed, by the last Will and Testament of the said King Hen. 8. signed with his hand before his death, unto the Children of the Lady Francis; and Elenor, Daughter to Mary the French Queen, younger Daughter of Hen. 7. and of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk; so as it is thought the Queen, my Soveraign, and all others, by course of Inheritance, be by these Circumstances excluded and fore-closed: So as it does well become all Subjects, such as I am, so my liking is, to speak of Princes, of their Reigns and Proceedings modestly, and with respect; yet I cannot abstain to say, that the Chronicles and Histories of that Age, and your own printed Statutes being extant, do contaminate and disgrace greatly the Reign of that King in that time. But to come to our purpose, what equity and justice was that to disinherit a Race of Forreign Princes of their possibility, and maternal right, by a municipal Law or Statute made in that, which some would term abrupt time, and say, that that would rule the Roast, yea, and to exclude the right heirs from their Title, without calling them to answer, or any for them: well, it may be said, that the injury of the time, and the indirect dealing is not to be allowed; but since it is done it cannot be avoided, unless some Circumstances material do annihilate the said limitation and disposition of the Crown.

Now let us examine the manner and circumstance

how King Hen. 8. was by Statute inabled to dispose the Crown. There is a form in two sorts prescribed him, which he may not transgress, that is to say, either by his Letters Patents, sealed with his Great Seal, or by his last Will, signed with his hand: for in this extraordinary case he was held to an ordinary and precise form; which being not observed, the Letters Patents, or Will, cannot work the intent or effect supposed. And to disprove, that the Will was signed with his own hand; You know, that long before his death he never used his own signing with his own hand; and in the time of his Sickness, being divers times pressed to put his hand to the Will written, he refused to do it. And it seemed God would not suffer him to proceed in an Act so injurious and prejudicial to the right Heir of the Crown, being his Niece. Then his death approaching, some as well known to you as to me, caused William Clarke, sometimes Servant to Thomas Henneage, to sign the supposed Will with a stamp, (for otherwise signed it was never); and yet notwithstanding some respecting ore the satisfaction of their ambition, and other their private commodity, than just and upright dealing procured divers honest Gentlemen, attending in divers several Rooms about the King's Person, to testifie with their hand-writings the Contents of the said pretended Will, surmised to be signed with the King's own hand. To prove this dissembled and forged signed Testament, I do refer you to such Trials as be yet

left. First ; The Attestation of the late Lord Paget, published in the Parliament in Queen Mary's time, for the restitution of the Duke of Norfolk. Next, I pray you, on my Sovereigns behalf, that the Depositions may be taken in this Matter of the Marquess of Winchester, Lord Treasurer of England, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir William Petre then one of King Henry's Secretaries, Sir Henry Neville, Sir Maurice Berkley, Doctor Buts, Edmond Harman Baker, John Osborn, Groom of the Chamber, Sir Anthony Dennis, if he be living, Terris, the Chirurgion, and such as have heard David Vincent and others speak in this case ; and that their Attestations may be enrolled in the *Chancery*, and in the Arches, *In perpetuam rei memoriam.*

Thirdly ; I do refer you to the Original Will surmised to be signed with the King's own hand, that thereby it may most clearly and evidently appear by some differences, how the same was not signed with the King's hand, but stamped, as aforesaid. And albeit it is used both as an Argument and Calumniation against my Sovereign to some, that the said Original hath been embezelled in Queen Mary's time, I trust God will and hath reserved the same to be an Instrument to relieve the Truth, and to confound false Surmises, that thereby the Right may take place, notwithstanding the many Exemplifications and Transcripts, which being sealed with the great Seal, do run abroad in England, and do carry away many

Mens minds, as great presumptions of great variety and validity. But, Sir, you know in cases of less importance, that the whole Realm of England, Transcripts and Exemplifications be not of so great force in Law to serve for the recovery of any thing, either real or personal: And in as much as my Soveraign's Title in this case shall be little advanced, by taking exceptions to others pretended and erased Titles, considering her precedency, I will leave it to such as are to claim after the issue of Hen. the 7th, to lay in Bar the Poligamy of Charles Brandon the Duke of Suffolk; and also the vitiated and clandestine Contract, (if it may be so called) having no witness nor solemnization of Christian Matrimony, nor any lawful matching of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Katharine. *Lastly;* The semblably compelling of Mr. Key, and the Lady Mary, Sister to the Lady Katharine.

And now, Sir, I have to answer your desire said somewhat briefly to the Matter, which indeed is very little, where so much may be said; for to speak truly, the Cause speaketh for it self. I have so long forborn to deal in this matter, that I have almost forgotten many things which may be said for Roboration of her Right, which I can shortly reduce to my Remembrance, being at Edinburgh where my Notes are: So that if you be not by this satisfied, upon knowledg from you of any other Objection, I hope to satisfy you unto all things may be said against her. In the mean time I pray you so counsel the Queen, your Soveraign, as

some effectual reparation may follow without delay, of the many and sundry traverses and dis-savorings committed against the Queen, my Sovereign: as the publishing of so many exemplifications of King Henry's supposed Will, the secret embracing of John Halles Books, the Books printed and not avowed the last Summer, one of the which my Mistris hath sent by Henry Killigrew to the Queen your Soveraign; The Disputes and Proceedings of Lincoln's-Inn, where the Case was ruled against the Queen my Sovereign; The speeches of sundry in this last Session of Parliament, tending all to my Soveraign's derision, and nothing said to the contrary by any Man, but the Matter shut up with silence, most to her prejudice; and by so much the more as every Man is gone home setled and confirmed in his Error. And, Lastly, the Queen, your Soveraign's resolution to defend now by Proclamations, all Books and Writings containing any discussion of Titles, when the whole Realm hath engendred by these fond proceedings, and other favoured practises, a setled opinion against my Soveraigns, to the advancement of my Lady Katherines Title. I might also speak of an other Book lately printed and set abroad in this last Session, containing many Untruths and weak Reasons, which Mr. Wailing desired might be answered before the Defence were made by Proclamation. I trust you will so hold hand to the Reformation of all these things, as the Queen, my Soveraign, may

have effectual occasion to esteem you her Friend; which doing, you shall never offend the Queen your Mistris, your Country, nor Conscience, but be a favourer of the Truth against Errors, and yet deserve well of a Princess, who hath a good heart to recognize any good turn, when it is done her, and may hereafter have means to do you pleasure. For my particular, as I have always honoured you as my Father, so do I still remain of the same mind, as one, whom in all things not touching the State, you may direct, as your Son Thomas Cecil, and with my hearty commendations to you, and my Lady, both, I take my leave. From Striveling, the 14th of January, 1566.

A Bond of Association, upon MARY Queen of SCOTLAND's Resigning the Crown in Favour of her Son.[1]

WWe quhiks has subscrivit the underwritten Bond, understanding that the Queenis Majesty willing nathing mair earnestlie, nor that in her Lifetime her Majesties Dear Son, our Native Prince, be placit and inaugurat in the Kindom of this his Native Cuntre and Realm, and be obeyit as King be us, and uthers his subjects: And being wearit of the great Pains

[1] An Original, in the Library of Glasgow.

and Travels taken be her in her Government thereof, hes be her Letters demittit and renderit, and given power thairby to demit and renunce the said Government of this Realm, Liegis and Subjectis thairof, in Favours of her said Son, our Native Prince: To the effect he may be inaugurat thairin, the Crown Royal put upon his Head, and be obeyit in all Things as King and Native Prince thairof, as her Hieness Letters past thairupon bears. Thairfore, and because it is ane of the maist happy Things that can come to any Pepill or Cuntre, to be governit and rulit by their awn Native King; We, and ilk ane of us, quhilk hes subscrivit thir Presents, be the Tenor heirof, promitties, binds, and oblissis us, faithfully to convene and assembil our selfs at the Burgh of Sterling, or any other Place to be appointit, to the Effect foresaid; and thair concur, assist and fortify our said Native King and Prince, to the Establishing, Planting and Placing of him in his Kingdom, and Putting of the Crown Royal thairof upon his Head, and in the Fear of our God being instructit and teichit be his and all other Laws, sall giff our Aith of Fidelity and Homage, and lawfull and dutiful Obedience, to be made by us to him during his Graces Lifetime, as it becomes faithfull, Christian, and true Subjects to do to thair Native King and Prince. And farther, that we sall with all our Strength and Forcis promote, concurre, fortifie and assist, to the Promoteing and Establishing of him in his Kingdom and Government, as becumis faithfull

and true Subjects to do to thair Prince, and to resist all sick as wald oppon them thairto, or make any Trouble or Impediment to him thairin, and sall do all uther Things, that becomis faithfull and Christian Subjects to do to thair Native King and Prince. In Witness of the quhilk Thing, we haif subscrivit thir Presents with our Handis, at Edinburgh, the day of — ———, the Year of God 1567 Years.

James Regent. *Huntley. Archibald Argyle. Athol. Mortoun. Mar. Glencairn. Errol. Buchan. Graham. Alexander* Lord *Home. William* Lord *Ruthven.* Lord *Sanquhar. Ihon* Lord *Glamis. Patrick* Lord *Lindsey. Michael* Lord *Carlisle:* With my Hand at the Pen, *Alexander Hay*, Notarius. *William* Lord *Borthwick.* Lord *Innermaith. Ucheltrie. Sempill. Henry* Lord *Methven. Allan* Lord *Cathcart. Patrick* Lord *Gray. Robert* Com. of *Dumferling. James Stuart. Alexander* Com. of *Culross. Adam* Com. of *Cambuskenneth. Dryburgh.* Master of *Montrose. Alexander* Bishop of *Galoway. Caprington. Blairquhan. Tullibarden*, Comptroller; with Eighteen more.

JAMES I. to his son, Prince HENRY, upon his leaving Scotland to take possession of the crown of England,[1] 1603.

My Son, that I see you not before my parting, impute it to this great occasion, wherein time was so precious; but that shall by God's grace be recompensed by your coming to me shortly, and continual residence with me ever after. Let not this news make you proud, or insolent, for a king's son and heir was ye before, and no more are ye yet. The augmentation that is hereby like to fall unto you, is but in cares and heavy burthens. Be, therefore, merry, but not insolent; keep a greatness, but *sine fastu*; be resolute, but not wilful; keep your kindness, but in honourable sort;[2] choose none to be your playfellows but them that are well born; and above all things, never give good countenance to any but according as ye shall be informed that they are in estimation with me. Look upon all Englishmen that shall come to visit you as your loving subjects, not with that ceremony as towards strangers, and yet with such heartiness as at this time they deserve. This gentleman whom this bearer accompanies is worthy, and of good rank, and now my familiar servitor; use him, therefore, in a

[1] MS. Harl., 6986, Art. 39.
[2] Do nothing dishonourable through kindness.

more homely sort nor other. I send you herewith my book lately printed;[1] study and profit in it as ye would deserve my blessing; and as there can nothing happen unto you whereof ye will not find the general ground therein, if not the very particular point touched, so must ye level every man's opinions or advices unto you as ye find them agree or discord with the rules there set down, allowing and following their advices that agree with the same, mistrusting and frowning upon them that advise you to the contrary. Be diligent and earnest in your studies, that at your meeting with me I may praise you for your progress in learning. Be obedient to your master, for your own weal, and to procure my thanks; for in reverencing him ye obey me, and honour yourself. Farewell.

Your loving father,

JAMES R.

JAMES I. to the Dean of PETERBOROUGH, for translating the body of the Queen of Scots to Westminster.[2] 1612.

To our trusty and well-beloved the dean and chapter of our cathedral church of Peterborough, and

[1] "Βασιλικων δωρον, or his Majesty's instructions to his son Henry the Prince," 8vo. Lond. 1603.

[2] Ashmolean MSS. No. 857, p. 320.

in their absence to the right reverend father-in-God, the Bishop of Peterborough, and to such of the prebends or other officers of that church as shall be found being there.

James R.,

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; for that we think it appertains to the duty we owe to our dearest mother, that like honour should be done to her body and like monument be extant of her, as to others, hers, and our progenitors, have been used to be done; and ourselves have already performed to our dear sister, the late Queen Elizabeth, we have commanded a memorial of her to be made in our church of Westminster, the place where the kings and queens of this realm are usually interred. And for that we think it inconvenient that the monument and her body should be in several places; we have ordered that her said body remaining now interred in that our cathedral church of Peterborough, shall be removed to Westminster to her said monument, and have committed the care and charge of the said translation of her body from Peterborough to Westminster to the reverend father-in-God, our right trusty and well-beloved servant the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, bearer hereof, to whom we require you (or such as he shall assign) to deliver the corpse of our said dearest mother; the same being taken up in as decent and respectful a manner as it is fitting; and for that there is a pall now upon the hearse over her grave which

will be requisite to be used to cover the said body in the removing thereof, which may perhaps be deemed as a fee that should belong to the church, we have appointed the said reverend father to pay you a reasonable redemption for the same, which, being done by him, we require you that he may have the pall, to be used for the purpose aforesaid. Given under our signet at our honour of Hampton Court, the eight-and-twentieth day of September, in the tenth year of our reign in England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the six-and-fortieth.

CHARLES I. to the Earl of STRAFFORD.[1]

1641.

Strafford,

The misfortune that is fallen upon you by the stange mistaking and conjuncture of these times, being such, that I must lay by the thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs; yet I cannot satisfy myself in honour or conscience without assuring you (now in the midst of your troubles), that upon the word of a king you shall not suffer in life, honour, or

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii., p. 416. This letter was written by Charles after the bill of attainder against Strafford had passed the Lower House (21st April.)

fortune. This is but justice, and therefore a very mean reward from a master to so faithful and able a servant as you have showed yourself to be; yet it is as much as I conceive the present times will permit, though none shall hinder me from being,

Your constant, faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, April 23, 1641.

CHARLES I. to the House of Lords, in behalf of the Earl of STRAFFORD.[1] 1641.

My lords,

I did yesterday satisfy the justice of the kingdom, by passing of the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford; but mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a king as justice, I desire at this time in some measure, to show that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment, yet so that, if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer, directly or indirectly, to meddle with any sort of public business, especially with me, either by message or letter, it shall cost him his life, without further press.

[1] Harleian MSS., 1769, art. 12.

This, if it may be done without the discontent of my people, will be an unspeakable comfort to me; to which end, as in the first place, I by this letter do earnestly desire your approbation; and to endear it the more, have chosen him[1] to carry, that of all your house is most dear to me; so I do desire, that by a conference you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment; likewise assuring you, that the exercise is no more pleasing to me than to see both Houses of Parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the law in so important a case. I will not say, that your complying with me in this my pretended mercy, shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more cheerful in granting your just grievances; but, if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say, *fiat justitia*.

Thus again earnestly recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest

Your unalterable and affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, 10th May, 1641.

If he *must* die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday.[2]

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[1] This letter was delivered to the House by the prince in person.

[2] The following extract from the Parliament Journals will show what effect Charles's supplication had: "This letter, all written with the king's own hand, we, the peers, this day received in parliament, delivered by the hands of the prince. It was twice read in the House, and, after serious and sad considerations, the

CHARLES I. to his Daughter.[1]

Newport, 14th October, 1648.

Dear daughter,

It is not want of affection that makes me write so seldom to you, but want of matter, such as I could wish; and indeed am loath to write to those I love when I am out of humour (as I have been these days by past), lest my letters should trouble those I desire to please. But having this opportunity, I would

House resolved presently to send it by one of the peers' messengers to the king, humbly to signify that neither of the two intentions expressed in the letter could, with duty to us, or without danger to his consort the queen, and all the young princes her children, possibly [be] advised with being accomplished, and more expressions offered; his majesty suffered no more words to come from us, but, of the fulness of his heart, to the observation of justice, and for the contentment of his people, told us, that what he intended by letter was with an 'if it might be done without discontentment of his people. If that could be, to say again the same that I write, fiat justitia, my other intention proceeding out of charity, for a few days' respite, was upon certain information that his estate was so distracted, that it necessarily requited some few days' respite for settlement thereof.' "Whereunto the lords answered: their purpose was, to be suitors to his majesty for favours to be showed to his innocent children; and if himself had made any provision for them, the same might hold. This was well-liking to his majesty, who thereupon departed from the lords. At his majesty's parting we offered up into his hands the letter itself which he had sent; but he was pleased to say, 'what I have written to you, so shall I be content it be registered by you in your House; in it you see my mind: I hope you will use it to my honour.' This, upon return of the lords from the king, was presently reported to the House by the lord privy seal, and ordered that these lines should go out with the king's letter, if any copy of the letter were desired."

[1] Sloane MS. 3299, art. 8.

not lose it: though at this time I have nothing to say, but God bless you! So I rest

Your loving father,

CHARLES R.

Give your brother my blessing with a kiss, and commend me kindly to my Lady Northumberland, by the sane token.

CHARLES I. to the PRINCE of Wales.[1]

Newport, November 29, 1648.

Son,

By what hath been said, you may see how long we have laboured in search of peace. Do not you be discouraged to tread those ways, to restore yourself to your right; but prefer the way of peace. Show the greatness of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning than punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristianly this implacable disposition is in our evil willers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure us not, for having parted with too much of

[1] Holmes's MS. Historical Collections

our own right; the price was great, the commodity was security to us, peace to our people. And we are confident another parliament would remember how useful a king's power is to a people's liberty.

Of how much we have divested ourself, that we and they might meet again in a due parliamentary way to agree the bounds for prince and people! And in this, give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative than what is really and intrinsically for the good of our subjects (not satisfaction of favourites). And, if you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any you would be extraordinarily gracious to. You may perceive all men trust their treasure, where it returns them interest: and if princes, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams and rivers trust them with, they will not grudge, but pride themselves, to make them up an ocean.

These considerations may make you a great prince, as your father is now a low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For subjects have learnt (we dare say) that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves; and so, will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter.

The English nation are a sober people; however at present under some infatuation. We know not but this may be the last time we may speak to you or the world publicly. We are sensible into what hands we

are fallen; and yet we bless God we have those inward refreshments, that the malice of our enemies cannot disturb. We have learnt to own ourself by retiring into ourself, and therefore can the better digest what befalls us; not doubting but God can restrain our enemies' malice, and turn their fierceness unto his praise.

To conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly and far from revenge. If He restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. Those men which have forced laws which they were bound to observe, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this world worth obtaining by foul and unjust means. You are the son of our love; and, as we direct you to what we have recommended to you, so we assure you, we do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom we are a natural parent) than we do, that the ancient glory and renown of this nation be not buried in irreligion and fanatic humour: and that all our subjects (to whom we are a political parent) may have such sober thoughts as to seek their peace in the orthodox profession of the Christian religion, as it was established, since the Reformation in this kingdom, and not in new revelations; and that the ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the known practices, may once again be a hedge about them; that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of the Lord.

C. R.

The commissioners are gone; the corn is now in the ground; we expect the harvest. If the fruit be peace, we hope the God of peace will, in time, reduce all to truth and order again: which that He may do, is the prayer of

C. R.

Newport, November 29, 1648.

Finis.

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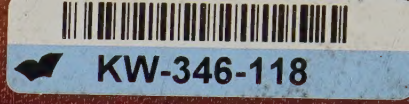
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